

In Brief

MUSLIM militants are suspected of having planted two car bombs in the Algerian capital, Algiers, which killed 12 people and wounded 32.

NEARLY 60 people were killed and many more injured by an ammunition dump blast in the presidential palace in Kabul.

ISRAEL has approved the return of 154 members of the Palestine National Council to Palestinian-ruled areas, including Layla Khateb, who was arrested in London in 1970 for hijacking an Israeli El Al airplane.

THE FRENCH army is to be almost halved under a plan put forward by President Chirac. His military planners have recommended scrapping the main French input to the Eurocorps and sharply reducing the military presence in Africa.

THE Russian commander in Chechnya, General Tikhonov, was quoted as saying that his forces had killed up to 170 Chechens in the battle for the village of Novogrozny and lost 30 of their own troops.

PROSPECTS for speedy progress on signing a nuclear test ban treaty suffered a serious blow when India insisted at talks in Geneva that it would stand by its demand for parallel talks on disarmament by the five nuclear powers.

In a move to restrict import of TV programmes made in the US, the European Parliament voted to impose advertising restrictions on television and quotas on shows produced outside the European Union.

THE PRETORIA supreme court ordered a predominantly Afrikaans school to allow black pupils into classes in South Africa's first legal test of the principle of non-racialism embodied in the constitution.

AUSTRALIA'S conservative opposition unveiled \$A1 billion (\$775 million) worth of tax breaks to woo the family vote before the election on March 2.

A STAGGERING 39 per cent of black Californian men in their 20s were in prison, held on remand or on probation last year, according to a new study. The rate for young Latino males was 1 in 10 and for whites 1 in 20.

MARTIN BALSAM, who appeared in nearly 50 films, including Twelve Angry Men, Psycho and Catch-22, has died, aged 76. Balsam won an Oscar as Best Supporting Actor in A Thousand Clowns.

Nigeria puts Christians on trial

Chris McGreal in Bauchi

SIXTY Nigerians accused of inciting a religious war in which many of them lost their wives and children are facing a mass trial and condemnation by a special tribunal modelled on the kangaroo court that sent the Ogoni activist Ken Saro-Wiwa to the hangman.

Military prosecutors accuse the 60 members of the minority Sayawa Christian community in Nigeria's overwhelmingly Muslim Bauchi state of provoking religious clashes in which hundreds died last July. But defence lawyers this week will ask the high court to dismiss the charges as religious persecution.

The seeds of the Bauchi killings lie in Nigeria's long history of religious friction and a campaign by the Sayawa community to break free

from the Hausa-Fulani Islamic administration.

In 1993, after earlier fighting, the central government promised the Sayawas their own chiefs, but Bauchi state officials blocked the plan. Prominent among them was Ibrahim Musa, a Muslim who wrote a memo describing the Sayawa as a "conquered people".

Last year when Mr Musa was appointed a Bauchi minister he decided to celebrate with what the Sayawa believe was a deliberate provocation. He ordered them to organise a congratulatory reception for him and neighbouring Muslim communities, and to pay for it.

The day before the planned reception, Sayawa elders met and told the authorities that Mr Musa was not welcome. The following morning angry Sayawas blocked roads, keeping out thousands of Muslims arriving for the ceremony, and Mr Musa had to call it off.

Witnesses say the fighting began with stone throwing. A week later hundreds of people had been hacked, shot and burnt to death. Thirty-eight villages were destroyed, about 1,500 homes wrecked and churches and mosques burnt.

The Sayawa community says it knows of at least 146 Christians killed, although more are missing. The dead include 17 children hacked to pieces in school, and 36 people murdered in a church.

No figure has been given for Muslim deaths but the state said all but seven of the villages destroyed were Christian, which suggests they account for most of the victims. Yet state officials are portraying the Sayawas as the sole villains.



Demonstrators in Madrid march in silence against violence and terrorism

Spain shocked at killing by separatists

Adela Gooch in Madrid

MORE THAN half a million people marched in silence through the streets of central Madrid on Monday to protest against a campaign of violence by Basque separatists. The prime minister, Felipe González, carried a banner with opposition politicians.

A former president of Spain's constitutional court and champion of democratic rights, Francisco Tomás y Valiente, was shot dead last week by a suspected member of the Basque separatist group ETA in his office at Madrid university.

Tomás y Valiente, aged 63, professor of legal history, was on the

telephone when his assassin — identified by onlookers as a well known member of ETA's Madrid unit — burst in, shot him three times in the head and then fled, threatening students with his gun. "Everything points to ETA, the type of cartridges and the way it was done," an interior ministry official said.

The attack, which paralysed the official launch of Spain's election campaign, comes a week after a prominent Socialist politician, Fernando Múgica, was shot dead in the Basque city of San Sebastián.

Both men were close to the prime minister, Felipe González. Many institutions declared official mourning for a man who had worked

in harmony with the Socialist Party, yet who maintained his independence and was widely respected.

"He was a symbol of our democracy and this attack can only be seen as an assault on our constitution," said Diego López Garrido, an MP for the United Left and a friend.

The prime minister expressed "rage and anger," asking Spaniards "to remain calm so that we can defeat this band of lunatics".

The interior ministry claimed the attack had been carried out by Jon Biezobarr Arreche. If so, it was an act of particular bravado because his photo has been on wanted posters that recently went on display around the country.

Britain tries to halt US sanctions bill

Ian Black

BRITAIN is waging a desperate diplomatic campaign to persuade the United States Congress to drop plans for sanctions against foreign companies trading with Libya and Iran, for fear of a full-blown transatlantic row if the legislation goes ahead, the Guardian has learned.

Foreign Office officials warn that

the proposed law will lead to a rift between the US and the European Union, with Britain squeezed between the two, and undermine existing United Nations sanctions against Libya. "This is a disaster in the making," one official said.

"We are very worried by the damage it could do to our bilateral relationship," a US diplomat said. "The dynamics are pushing towards a collision."

The US legislation aims to punish Iran for allegedly supporting terrorism and developing nuclear weapons, and to pressure Libyas into handing over two intelligence officers accused of the Lockerbie bombing in 1988.

It is expected to be passed within weeks unless British lobbying, orchestrated from the highest levels of the Foreign Office, is successful. Prospects are said to be poor.

Italy heads for early elections

John Hooper in Rome

ITALY is heading for a general election at the end of April after the leader of the right, the media tycoon Silvio Berlusconi, last week made the latest in a series of reversals and announced his conversion to the cause of an early poll.

Most of his allies and the leader of the biggest party on the left had already come out in favour of a return to the ballot box, almost three years ahead of schedule.

The man chosen by the president, Oscar Luigi Scalfaro, to form a government out of the existing, evenly divided legislature had earlier admitted failure. Antonio Maccanico, a distinguished former civil servant, put the blame on the right, and particularly the leader of Italy's former neo-fascists, Gianfranco Fini.

Mr Maccanico said: "A great and extraordinary opportunity for the future of the country has been lost. He had been asked to put together a broadly-based administration that would have enabled parliament to reform the constitution.

A spring election could help clarify the balance of forces — but would be bad news for Italy's European partners. Rome currently holds the European Union's rotating presidency. With a caretaker administration in office until late April, Italy would be unable to provide the vigorous leadership the EU badly needs in the approach to next month's launch of the Maastricht review process. There is also the prospect of a lengthy delay before a cabinet is formed following the election.

Mr Maccanico's bitter words sent the stock market tumbling last week. The Milan bourse's Mibtel index lost 3.62 per cent, and the lira took a battering.

The urbane Mr Fini emerged the clear winner from the latest round of infighting and looks increasingly like the true helmsman of Italy's right-wing alliance. Convinced that his "post-fascists" will do well out of polls, he had been openly in favour of an election from the outset. But Mr Berlusconi — who has endured a string of political setbacks and is now on trial for bribery — was only gradually convinced.

Last week, however, Mr Berlusconi issued a statement saying: "Only parliamentary elections can remake the torn fabric of our democracy and give the country a stable government."

In a newspaper interview last week he acknowledged that his ally had "got it right". Mr Berlusconi's own, half-hearted, attempts to reach a cross-party deal have done nothing to enhance his reputation or electoral prospects.

Direct talks between John Major and President Bill Clinton, and between the British Foreign Secretary, Malcolm Rifkind, and the US secretary of state, Warren Christopher, have so far failed to resolve the issue.

The Iranian bill, introduced last year by Republican Senator Alfonse D'Amato of New York, would penalise non-US companies trading with Iran by denying them loans. It could prohibit their imports to the US and exclude them from US government contracts.

Rivalry and corruption cripple the economy

Last week's flawed election is just the latest blow against the people, writes Suzanne Goldenberg

ALTHOUGH IT still ranks among the dozen poorest countries in the world, Bangladesh has been rising out of poverty, consigning Henry Kissinger's "international basket case" to history.

Its reputation nowadays owes more to the success of non-governmental ventures like the Grameen bank, which keeps its 2 million mainly female borrowers out of the grip of rapacious village money-lenders, and has spawned copy-cat projects by the World Bank and other institutions. The official story, by contrast, has been one of repression and misrule.

Bangladesh will be 25 years old in December. Thousands of people died in the uprising against Pakistan; they left their children a country in which military dictators have ruled for 15 years.

During the 1980s, General Hussain Mohammed Ershad presided over a particularly corrupt and incompetent administration. Rich factory owners siphoned off 42 per cent of the country's power supply, and much the same happened to the other essential services.

But the introduction of economic reforms after the restoration of democracy in 1991 led to modest improvements. The relatively new garment industry became the country's largest foreign exchange earner. Economic growth rose to 6.5 per cent — close to the rates that propelled Taiwan and South Korea forward — and inflation fell to record lows. Foreign exchange reserves grew tenfold from 1991, while the savings rate, a crucial indicator of economic success, doubled to 12 per cent of GDP. And while foreign investment didn't exactly pour in, there were definite signs of interest.

"The broad picture was that in spite of it all, there have been some signs of positive trends," said Wahiduddin Mahmud, president of the Bangladesh Economic Association. But the good times still passed tens of millions of people by. Purbo Hajipur is a Dhaka slum whose misery is defined by the fact that its people do not even live on dry land, but in corrugated tin huts perched on stilts above a swamp. The people here lack the skills or education to profit from economic liberalisation, and they have been overlooked by social workers.

"We have never seen any development or any change in our lives," said Habibur Rahman, a vegetable vendor, who came to the city because he could not survive in his village. Here he shares a tin shack, an oven in the summer heat, with one other family. "To me, development means the price of rice. And no matter who the Rajah or Rani is, the price of rice goes up."

A cycle rickshaw driver from the same district chimes in. "We are poor people, and we don't know what is in store for our children either."

That has certainly been true in recent months as the political confrontation between the government of Begum Khaleda Zia and the opposition Awami League leader, Sheikh Hasina Wazed, escalated into protest strikes and random violence.

Economists believe the worst of the last two years has scythed the country's growth rate down to 4 per cent. Foreign aid donors cut their contributions from \$2 billion to \$1.6

billion. Agricultural production dropped so steeply that Dhaka had to start importing rice again. All that had been achieved in the early 1990s was coming undone. "The Bangladesh economy is coming to a crisis," Professor Mahmud said.

There are few signs that the government will heed the warnings. Although Mrs Zia's ruling Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) has romped home with 205 out of the 207 seats declared in last week's general election, it was not what could normally be considered a victory.

Sheikh Hasina's Awami League and the other main opposition parties boycotted the polls in a protest against Mrs Zia's failure to make way for a neutral, caretaker government that would oversee the elections.

Reports of systematic ballot-stuffing at what was essentially a one-party poll last week support their contention that Mrs Zia's government was incapable of conducting a fair vote.

Though it is difficult to be certain just how low the turnout was because of BNP fraud, the opposition is claiming 95 per cent of voters stayed away. Foreign monitors have put the figure at about 80 per cent. But Mrs Zia said: "If it is a demo-

cratic vote then a 10 per cent turnout has to be accepted."

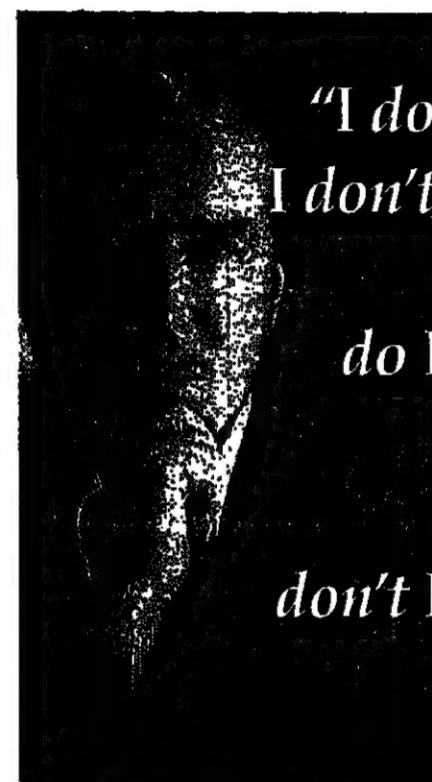
Her determination to continue in office, tempered by an eye of poll offer to resume talks with a view to holding fresh elections, is matched by the idea of forcing her out. The consequences of their personal feud are ruinous. One Western diplomat says the crisis "has weakened whatever competence there was in government to take on reforms".

More important are the questions it raises about whether Bangladesh can establish a stable democracy. Human rights activists fear the elections gave an opportunity to the army, chastened after Gen Ershad's

fall and confined to barracks, to play a larger role in public life. Lawyers say soldiers searching for illegal weapons in the village of Char Syedpur last month smashed up homes, and beat up 200 people. It is the first rights case to be filed against the armed forces since the restoration of civilian rule.

There are also fears that the relics of Gen Ershad's supporters in the Jatiya Party, as well as the fundamentalist Jamaat-e-Islami, who also boycotted last week's vote, may ultimately gain from the crisis.

"What this whole crisis has brought out is a kind of intolerance, hostility and terror that will be difficult to control," said Sirajul Islam Chowdhury, a columnist and English professor at Dhaka University. "People are losing faith in mainstream politics."



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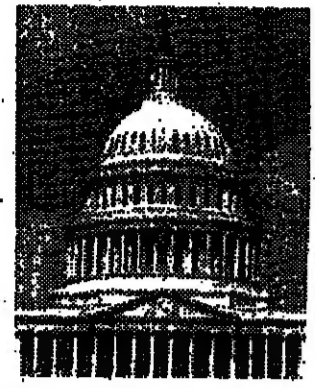
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Republicans cut down by friendly fire



The US this week

Martin Walker

EVEN before the first primary casts its bell-wether vote, it is safe to say that the real winner this year will be Bill Clinton. Vicious internal battles have left the Republicans broke, exhausted, and bitterly divided.

After Clinton, it is the Christian Coalition, which has imposed its authority upon the hapless Republicans, that will emerge with an advantage from this poll, along with Pat Buchanan who has forced the rest of the party to enlist under the banner of "religious war for the soul of America", a banner he first raised at the 1992 Republican convention in Houston.

More than six inches of snow had already fallen in New Hampshire, and it was still snowing last Friday as the once-moderate Republican candidate Lamar Alexander turned up to share the platform at his first rally with the Christian Coalition.

"If all Americans shared the Christian Coalition's involvement in politics, this country would not be in the trouble it is," he told them. "I'm glad to have the energy of Christian conservatives."

Then Elizabeth Dole turned up unexpectedly, to stand in for her husband and applaud politely in the driving blizzard as the voice of the Christian Coalition's director, Ralph Reed, proclaimed that "the Republican party cannot, should not, must not retreat from its pro-life stand".

The appearance of Alexander and Mrs Dole to pay fealty to the zealots of the religious right is just one more sign of the transformation that has overcome the old Republican party. Even Ronald Reagan kept these folk at arm's length, addressing their rallies only by telephone, even when they were gathered at the White House fence.

Senator Bob Dole and Lamar Alexander are of that centrist strand of the party which wishes the abortion issue would go away, and stop dividing the party and driving away educated and middle-class women such as Mrs Dole or Honey Alexander. Indeed, the latter used to raise funds for abortion clinics as a leading member of Planned Parenthood.

Alexander says he opposes abortion, but does not want to outlaw it nor make doctors liable to murder charges, and would leave any legislation to individual states. Dole would like to pick as his vice-presidential candidate either retired general Colin Powell or the governor of New Jersey, Christine Todd Whitman. But since both support a woman's right to choose, he dare not. The Christian Coalition has already promised to veto any such ticket.

"Let us not mince our words, my

friends, as this party and this country have tragically done for too long," says Buchanan. "Abortion is murder. Whether the pregnancy is the result of incest or rape, the abortion of that innocent life is still murder. If there is killing to be done, kill the rapist."

Exactly one week earlier, on the eve of the Iowa caucuses, there was another ominous example of the tightening grip of the religious right, when all the Republican candidates paid homage to the gay-bashing lobby in their party. Dole and Alexander sent letters of endorsement to this rally, which pledged that the Republican candidate would never legalise same-sex marriages.

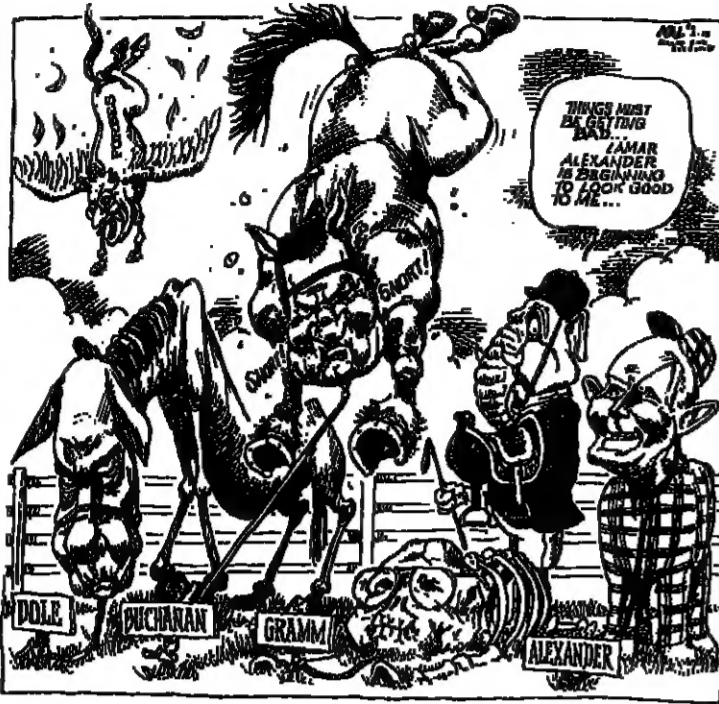
Buchanan and Steve Forbes and the rest of the candidates turned up at the First Federated Church in Des Moines, to hear the deep bay-sounding of triumphant bigotry as the Republicans were told to "send this evil life-style back to Satan, where it came from".

Only one Republican candidate refused to pay lip-service to this nastiness. Senator Richard Lugar. An impressive former chairman of the foreign relations committee, a Rhodes scholar, and nearly picked by both Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan as vice-president, Lugar is a Republican of the old school. Tolerant, internationalist, fiscally conservative and socially prepared to let other citizens mind their own moral business, he would, in times of normalcy, have been a leading candidate.

But what is happening inside the Republican party is not normal. If the Republican party were a person, rather than one of the most powerful and enduring political organisations, we would have called in the men in white coats by now. Last month, they were poised to anoint the political virgin Forbes, a goofy half-billionaire with an ego the size of his bank balance. This month, it is the American sytollah Buchanan, a fundamentalist Christian.

To save them from this fate, the party now depends on an old-timer with a mean streak, or his younger alternative, an ethically-challenged and genial blamewhore who plays a nice piano. There is snarling Dole, and terrifying, and not one of them, comes within 14 points of Clinton in the latest opinion polls. They are locked in a vicious civil war, in a campaign marked by the most negative advertising in memory. But there is a logic to this process. All political parties are coalitions, held together by ideology and tradition and by a shared lust for power. Each

of the four main Republican candidates represents at least one important component of that coalition.



And there is the bland and deliberately inoffensive Alexander, whose skill at turning a \$1 investment into \$630,000 while governor of Tennessee makes Hillary Clinton look like a model of financial virtue. Lamar's wife, Honey, made almost as much again through buying stock in a private prison corporation, just as her husband's state government began contracting out prison services.

The Republican party now controls the US Senate and the House of Representatives and nearly two-thirds of the governorships of the 50 states. Facing a wounded President Clinton in an election year when the economy is slowing sharply, the Republicans should be preparing to regain the White House. They have a historic opportunity to consolidate the one grand political strategy on which the party agrees: to roll back the state from the swollen and grandiose proportions of the federal government achieved after 50 years of cold war and 30 years of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society.

Instead, the Republicans are stuck with a field of candidates who range from the drab to the weird and terrifying, and not one of them, comes within 14 points of Clinton in the latest opinion polls. They are locked in a vicious civil war, in a campaign marked by the most negative advertising in memory. But there is a logic to this process. All political parties are coalitions, held together by ideology and tradition and by a shared lust for power. Each

of the four main Republican candidates represents at least one important component of that coalition.

Dole's backers say this second world war veteran from the farm state of Kansas represents the party's Mid-Western tradition, the small businessmen of countless main streets and the sturdily independent farmers. True, but he also represents corporate agriculture, like his most reliable source of campaign finance, Archer Daniels Midland, whose ads boast of being "supermarket to the world".

ALEXANDER represents the old George Bush wing of the party, the Republicans of the country clubs, a well-educated and comfortable upper middle class that prides itself on being pragmatic rather than ideological. Fiscally conservative, they tend to be socially quite liberal, on abortion and gays and prayer in schools, and all the other other issues which inflame the Christian Coalition.

Forbes represents Wall Street, and the impassioned free-market-ers and supply-side economists who last had the world's biggest economy to play with in Ronald Reagan's first term.

Those three represent the grand traditions of the Republican party. They stand for US business, the nation's global role and military alliances, and for free trade. Or at least they did, until Dole saw the political opportunity in bashing the United Nations and criticising NAFTA, the free-trade pact with Mexico.

By contrast, Buchanan represents some of the old Republican traditions, from 19th century protectionism to 1930s' isolationism. But he also embodies the new forces within the party. The darling of the religious right and the anti-abortion militants, he also threatens to evict the UN from US soil, and would take the US out of NAFTA and the Gatt system's World Trade Organisation. He shrugs off the labels "isolationist" and "protectionist", and says simply, "I am for America First — and the moment I lift my hand from the Bible at my swearing in, every US soldier in Bosnia boards a plane to come home".

Buchanan believes he represents the Republican future, and in private conversation over a glass of chardonnay he calls it "the culmination of a long, historic process".

"I'm not a country club Republican. They don't like folks like us in that country club," he told a rally of working-class Christians and gun-owners in Littleton, New Hampshire, last week. "When it comes to a choice between Wall Street profits or the share dividends they like to count down at the country club, and the jobs of ordinary Americans who are trying to compete with Mexicans who earn a dollar a day, I'm with the ordinary Americans."

The Republicans are the party of Abraham Lincoln, who fought the civil war to end slavery. As a result, the South was for a century the strongest base of the Democratic party, until President Lyndon Johnson signed the Civil Rights bill into law in 1964, and whispered to his aide: Bill Moyers: "This will keep us out of power for a generation."

That year, the Republican candidate Barry Goldwater won four Southern states. In 1968, the defecting governor of Alabama, George Wallace, peeled away a few more, and by Nixon's re-election campaign of 1972 the South was becoming the keystone of the new Republican majority in presidential elections. By 1994, the Democrats' rout in the South was complete in both the congressional and state elections.

The future of the Republican party is now a matter of numbers. In a low turn-out, like Louisiana or Iowa this year, the dedication of the Buchanan brigades makes him do disproportionately well. Buchanan is convinced he can win New Hampshire, and is certain to keep going to the Super Tuesday primary when the South votes on March 12. But Wall Street and main street, and country club, are deeply suspicious of his populism, so Buchanan remains a long shot. (If Buchanan got the nomination, and targeted that large mass of Democratic voters opposed to NAFTA from the beginning, Clinton would face an interesting race.)

The Republicans seem condemned by personal rivalry to lose their chance. Either Dole or Alexander could beat Buchanan in the primaries and give Clinton a serious race.

Neither one will back down, and though Alexander has the advantage of age, Dole has the money. But they both look second best, and so they are, ever since Colin Powell and Speaker Newt Gingrich separately decided not to run.

"Even if I lose this nomination, I have been trying to make this a Buchananite party, and I am winning," Buchanan said last week. "But I am winning." Quite so. Dole is campaigning as a cultural conservative, and Alexander looked suitably devout, as he bent the knee at his first Christian Coalition rally last week.

Jim Hoagland, page 13

Howard to end jail for fine defaulters

Alan Travis

THE jailing of more than 22,000 fine defaulters a year is to end, the Home Secretary, Michael Howard, announced last week.

New guidance is to be issued to magistrates which will end the centuries-old practice of sending to prison petty offenders who have failed repeatedly to pay court fines.

"Together with the Lord Chancellor, I am reviewing the powers and procedures available to the courts to ensure that they can enforce payment of fines without resorting to imprisonment save in the most exceptional circumstances," Mr

Howard told a prison service conference in Brighton last week.

The decision coincides with a sharply rising prison population — expected to hit a record 53,000 by the end of this month at a time of a 13.3 per cent cut in running costs.

There is also increasing public concern over the jailing of petty offenders — particularly women with multiple debt problems who have not paid television licences — and poll tax defaulters.

The latest published figures show that 22,500 fine defaulters were jailed in 1994 — making up more than a quarter of those sent to prison that year. Most were in prison for less than a week. Forty

per cent of the men involved were jailed for failing to pay motoring fines. Nearly a fifth of the 1,450 women jailed were imprisoned for failing to have a television licence.

The Home Secretary also confirmed that he is to introduce a white paper later this year which will introduce minimum sentences for repeat burglars and drug dealers and "two strikes and you're out" mandatory life sentences for repeat rapists. This package could add 10,000 to 20,000 inmates to the annual prison population.

Mr Howard refused to outline what other options he will use to ensure that fines remain a credible court sentence. Among options canvassed are greater use of community service orders; money payment supervision orders under which probation officers help defaulters sort out debts; and electronic tagging.

The decision to end the use of jail was widely welcomed by penal reformers and within the prison service. Paul Cavadiño of the Penal Affairs Consortium said jailing people whose original offences were insufficiently serious to deserve custody was indefensible.

But magistrates and chief probation officers later voiced strong reservations over Mr Howard's decision. Rosemary Thomson, chairwoman of the Magistrates' Association, warned it would remove

an effective deterrent against those who wilfully refused to pay. Some magistrates argue that many pay up "at the prison gate" when faced with the immediate threat of jail.

Mrs Thomson said it was a myth that most of those who were jailed were pathetic hardship cases of women with multiple debt problems. Only 400 of the 22,500 jailed in 1994 for failing to pay a court fine were women who had originally failed to buy a television licence.

"Some people wilfully refuse to pay their fine and it is hard to think there's any option for them but prison," Mrs Thomson said.

One hundred extra accountants are being recruited by the Prison Service to prevent a repeat of the "complete breakdown in monitoring and control" which led to a £37 million spending spree last year.

Mackay heeds divorce plea

SPOUSES being divorced against their will under new no-fault divorce laws will have the right to ask the court to block the divorce because it would cause them or their children substantial financial or other hardships, writes *Clare Dyer*.

The amendment to the Family Law Bill has been conceded by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Mackay, after pressure from Tory peers who believe the no-fault law will make divorce too easy and harm children.

The Lord Chancellor's department denied that children will be given the right to contest their parents' divorce.

The change is likely to prove largely cosmetic, because a similar provision in the existing law is rarely invoked successfully. Spouses divorced without their consent after five years' separation can contest the divorce on the ground that it will cause them (but not their children) grave financial or other hardship.

The Family Law Bill would have

afforded the same protection to any spouse divorced under the no-fault law, but Lord Mackay has now agreed to amend "grave" to "substantial" and include hardship to the children.

Few spouses succeed in blocking a divorce on hardship grounds because it is the formal dissolution of the marriage which must be shown to cause the hardship, rather than the splitting of the family.

The few cases in which courts have barred divorces on hardship grounds under existing law have mainly been where women would lose benefits or pension rights by being divorced rather than separated.

Lord Mackay has decided not to go ahead with a provision allowing courts to give former wives a share of their former husbands' pensions on divorce. Lord Mackay wants to consult further on the issue "in the absence of evidence that the provisions are necessary and will work".

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I have a wife

Major stands by those in firing line

Michael White and Richard Norton-Taylor

JOHN MAJOR threw a protective shield around the two ministers at the centre of the arms-to-Iraq controversy in the face of caustic criticism of their conduct in the long-awaited Scott report and angry Opposition calls for their dismissal.

Both the Chief Secretary to the Treasury, William Waldegrave, and Sir Nicholas Lyell, the Attorney General, insisted they would not resign, and Downing Street made plain it will fight to keep them as Labour continues what Mr Major regards as its scurrilous counter-attack.

Last week's Cabinet decision to toughen out the pre-election crisis came despite Mr Waldegrave being accused of a "deliberate" failure to inform Parliament about a decision to allow exports of more arms-related equipment to Iraq for fear of "strong public opposition" — particularly in the light of Saddam Hussein's gassing of Kurds.

Sir Richard Scott says in his report that there was a change of policy towards Iraq in 1988, and to argue otherwise, as Mr Waldegrave and his fellow ministers did, amounted to "sophistry".

He criticises Sir Nicholas for being "personally at fault" in his handling of the Matrix Churchill trial — the collapse of which triggered the 39-month inquiry.

But his targets go beyond the two ministers most closely involved. Sir Richard accuses the Government of "failing to discharge the obligations imposed by the constitutional principle of ministerial accountability".

Questions of Procedure for Ministers says it is their duty not to deceive or mislead Parliament. "Example after example has come to light of an apparent failure by ministers to discharge that obligation."

The Prime Minister and his Cabinet clung to Sir Richard's acceptance that there was no conspiracy to let innocent Matrix Churchill defendants go to jail and that both ministers had acted "honestly and in good faith" as the Thatcher government changed its

policies to help British industry cash in on the end of the Iran-Iraq war. There was "no duplicitous intention", the report concedes.

In a combative Commons statement, Ian Lang, the Trade Secretary, promised to act on Sir Richard's calls for reforms, including greater government openness and better management of intelligence reports, while insisting that it was Labour's duty to apologise for three years of "reckless and malicious" allegations of conspiracy and cover-up.

Faced with what Tory loyalists later said was "a cock-up, not a conspiracy", Labour insisted that incompetence alone would warrant the two resignations.

Led by the shadow foreign secretary, Robin Cook, Labour and the Liberal Democrats accused ministers of blatant news management designed to duck the report's two central conclusions: that ministers did change their arms sale policy towards Saddam Hussein and that they refused to admit it either to Parliament or the courts.

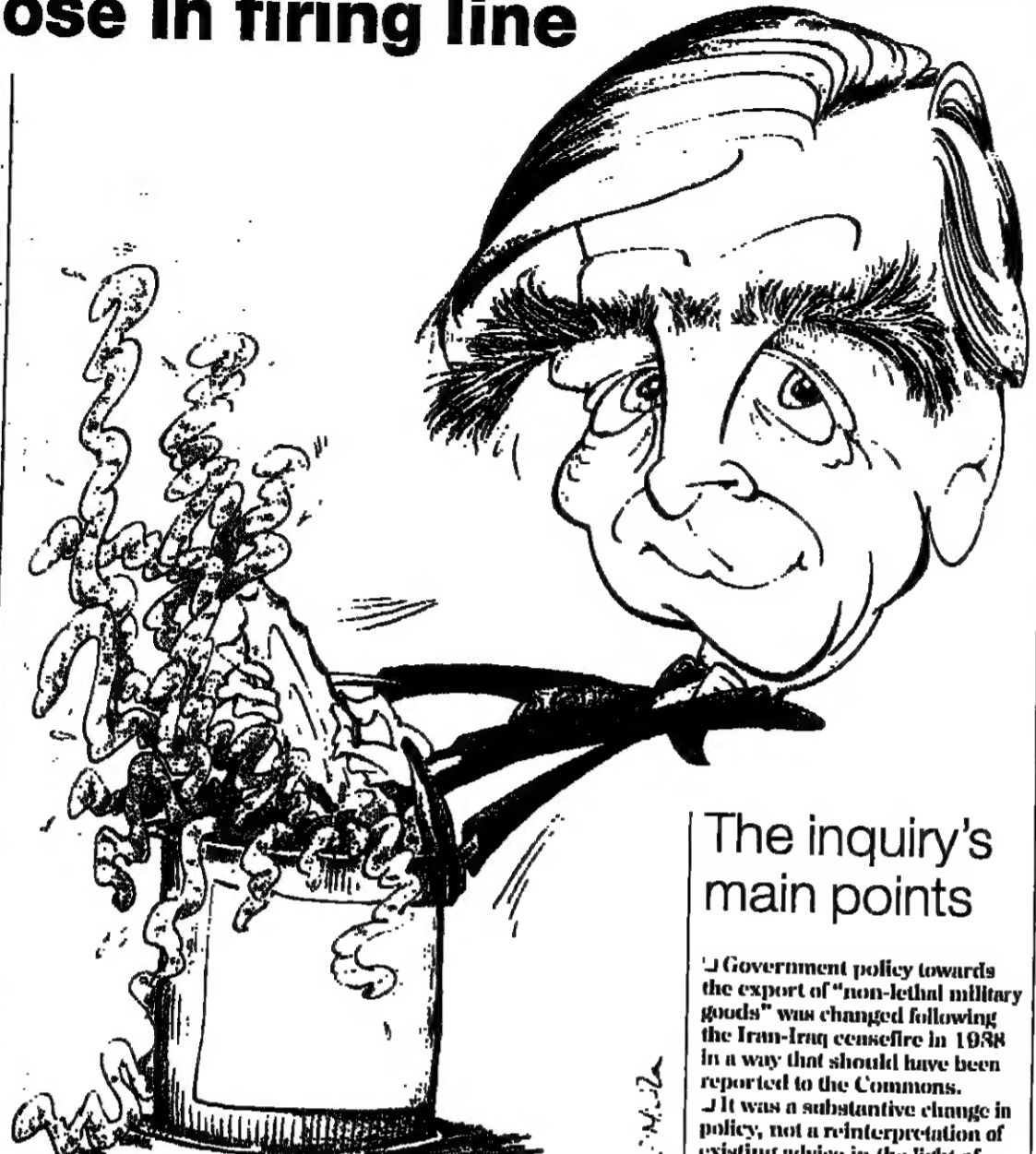
In Sir Richard's words, there was "clear evidence" that ministers knew of the Iraqi supergun a year before parts of it were seized by British Customs in 1989, Mr Cook said. As for the intelligence information as to the true destiny of Matrix Churchill machine tools — Iraq — it was so strong that ministerial insistence to the contrary amounted to "the Nelsonian use of a blind eye".

Labour and the Liberal Democrats later dispatched a dossier of quotes from Sir Richard's report to every Tory MP in an attempt to persuade them of the extent of the judge's criticisms of the Government.

Mr Cook and the Liberal Democrat spokesman, Menzies Campbell, holding a rare joint press conference, urged Tory MPs to study the report and recognise that the former Foreign Office minister, Mr Waldegrave, had been found guilty of deliberately misleading Parliament more than 30 times.

Mr Campbell said: "It is not possible to think of any sphere of activity in which an individual could be so criticised and still retain his job."

Labour plans to spread the attack



The inquiry's main points

- Government policy towards the export of "non-lethal military goods" was changed following the Iran-Iraq ceasefire in 1988 in a way that should have been reported to the Commons.
- It was a substantive change in policy, not a re-interpretation of existing advice in the light of changing circumstances, as Mr Waldegrave claimed.
- Government ministers "deliberately" failed to inform Parliament of this shift in policy because of fears of public opposition.
- None of the ministers involved in the changes acted with "duplicity" or intent in reshaping guidelines, but they agreed that no publicity should be given to the decision to relax them.
- The Government's claim that its position over arms sales to Iraq and Iran was "even-handed" had been untrue since the decision, taken as a consequence of the Salman Rusdieleff affair, to return to a more strict approach towards Iran.
- The Matrix Churchill arms-to-Iraq trial "ought never to have commenced".
- The Government had no intention of sending innocent men to jail by blocking the release of crucial documents in the trial. However, the practice and use of public interest immunity certificates to block the release of government documents to the defence "had no authoritative precedent in a criminal trial", although ministers were not informed of this before being asked to sign.
- Attorney General Sir Nicholas Lyell was personally at fault for failing to brief the Matrix Churchill trial prosecutors of Michael Heseltine's reluctance to sign a PII.

Failings that continue to haunt ministers

David Pallister

SIR NICHOLAS LYELL, the Attorney General who handled the preparations for the Matrix Churchill trial was personally at fault for a serious omission in the prosecution case, Sir Richard said.

This was the failure to instruct the prosecuting counsel Alan Moses QC that Michael Heseltine, then trade and industry secretary, had reservations about signing a public interest immunity certificate (PII) designed to persuade the judge not to disclose documents to the defence.

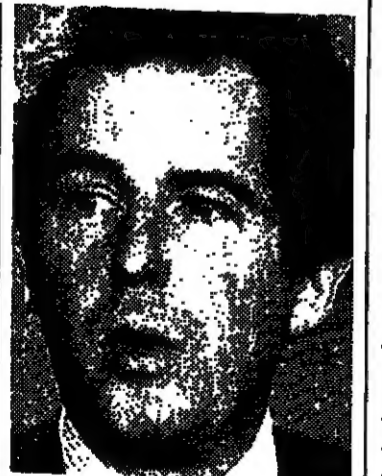
The judge was never advised of Mr Heseltine's doubts, even though Sir Nicholas had assured Mr Heseltine that the limited scope of his PII would be drawn to the attention of the court.

Sir Richard said he accepted "the genuineness of his belief that he was personally, as opposed to constitutionally, blameless for the inadequacy of the instructions sent to Mr Moses. But I do not accept that he was not personally at fault."

In the report, William Waldegrave, the Foreign Office minister



Lyell: 'personally at fault'



Waldegrave: 'fear of opposition'

from 1988-90, is also criticised for sending 38 untrue letters to MPs between March and July 1989, and for misleading Parliament. In the letters he asserts that "the Government have not changed their policy on defence sales to Iraq or Iran."

Sir Richard said: "Mr Waldegrave knew, first hand, the facts that, in my opinion, rendered the 'no change in policy' statement untrue."

Mr Waldegrave rejected the report's criticisms in every particular. In a prepared statement he said: "Sir Richard Scott clears me of lying to Parliament or intending to mislead anyone in letters I signed."

But Sir Richard singled out a parliamentary answer to Liberal Democrat MP David Alton in February

1989 in which Mr Waldegrave said: "There has been no change in our policy on arms sales to Iraq..." Sir Richard then notes a letter from Mr Waldegrave's private secretary on February 7 which said: "Mr Waldegrave is content for us to implement a more liberal policy on defence sales, without any public announcement on the subject."

Sir Richard concluded that the failure to tell the House of Commons about the change "was the inevitable result of the agreement between the three junior ministers [Waldegrave, Alan Clark, and Lord Treigarne] that no publicity would be given to the decision to adopt a more liberal, or relaxed policy... I have come to the conclusion that the overriding and determinate reason was a fear of strong public opposition to the loosening of the restrictions on the supply of defence equipment to Iraq and a consequential fear that the pressure of the opposition might be detrimental to British trading interests."

Although Sir Richard accepted that Mr Waldegrave did not regard the agreement to change the guidelines as a change of policy, he said there was "overwhelming evidence to the contrary."

The Opposition parties are also unhappy at the way Sir Richard has pulled his punches in the sometimes contradictory report. Labour officials, eager for a scalp, privately accuse him of "lacking bottle" as well as naivety in the way he allowed the presentation of his report to be stolen from him by ministers: the judge showed them draft copies of his report and invited their proposed amendments.

Ministers heavily armed against the truth

Hugo Young reflects on a world of duplicity and unaccountable networks

THE EMBLEMATIC character in the saga of the Scott inquiry is not William Waldegrave but Geoffrey Howe. Sir Richard Scott had hardly begun his work before Lord Howe took it on himself to be the scourge and defamer of his work: prosecutor, judge and jury in the attack on what he was about to publish.

Howe's contention was partly that Scott's procedure was unfair, and his inquiry "not a tribunal upon whose judgment the reputation of anyone should be allowed to depend". This perilous exaggeration did not deter the former foreign secretary from declaring that the report had vindicated ministers and government in all particulars. But it wasn't, in any case, the essence of his outrage. This was, rather, the "gap of non-comprehension" existing between Scott's world and "the real world", which rendered the judge incapable of engaging with what ministers had to do.

Howe offered this scathing opinion as an elder statesman, as if he were now above the battle which Scott so woefully failed to understand. But he was nothing of the sort. Reading the report, one is reminded not only that he, as William Waldegrave's superior, presided with meticulous enthusiasm over every subterfuge by which Middle East arms sales were kept from public view, but that he exalts everything Scott criticises about Whitehall life: its secretcies, duplicities, unaccountable networks; its swift capacity to rationalise the misleading of Parliament as *raison d'etat*.

The ministers involved in arms sales to Iraq have escaped any censure they're prepared to regard as such. They're satisfied that the sincerity of their errors protects them from blame. In fact, they think they're heroes. Howe told Scott that the guidelines restricting arms sales to Iraq and Iran amounted, in contrast with the policies of other countries, to "a huge national sacrifice".

For in Geoffrey Howe's world, not only do the ministers in this saga have nothing to be ashamed of, there isn't even a marginal case to answer. The national interest demands the sale of arms, lethal or non-lethal according to time and place. The rules are debated between honourable men, with conclusions that must inevitably be kept quiet and, if exposed, must be justified by the kind of casuality which, in Howe's world, is second nature, but which, if admitted to Scott's world, requires to be taken apart. It is, above all, the act of taking apart that Howe resents as a grotesque intrusion on the public interest.

Reading the Scott report, one can see why it takes apart his world as never before.

Consider the single question of the guidelines. The question was: did Waldegrave knowingly deceive Parliament? Answer: No. He was not, says Scott, "duplicious". Therefore he claims innocence. He says the guidelines had been changed. Yet behind this simple verdict lies a vast accumulation of evidence that they had changed, that officials and ministers thought they had changed, that ministers were aware how intensely embarrassing this might be — that "the convenience of secrecy" — a phrase Scott proffered to Sir

Robin Butler, the essence of which the Cabinet Secretary did not reject — prevailed whenever necessary.

The original guidelines, first of all, were not published. Howe, who framed them in 1984, thought they "should be allowed to filter out". During the Iran-Iraq war, the restraints were supposed to impose on lethal weaponry were even-handed but liberally interpreted — with full awareness, however, of how scandal might beckon. Of Matrix-Churchill machine tools, for example, one of Howe's officials wrote in 1988: "If it becomes public knowledge that the tools are to be used to make munitions, deliveries would have to stop at once."

That the position altered when the war ended is attested to in numerous ways. Paul Channon, trade secretary at the time, told Scott: "I think [ministers] changed the rules as they went on. In reality, if ministers decide to ignore the guidelines, they can be ignored." Alan Clark, Channon's junior, ecstatically noted the "brilliant" drafting that had exchanged a tight policy for a looser one — "so obviously drafted with the object of flexibility".

But we don't need to rely only on fringe players. In September 1988, Howe remarked that "it could look very cynical" if, shortly after condemning Iraq for using chemical warfare against Kurds, "we adopt a more flexible approach to arms sales". He wanted to encourage these. His officials should "get moving down that path". Asked by Scott to examine why secrecy about the new policy must obtain, Howe admitted with a palpable shudder to "the emotional way in which such debates are conducted in public".

This was not a foreign secretary talking about a policy that did not change. Nor, obviously, was Waldegrave when his office wrote in February 1989 that he was "content for us to implement a more liberal policy on defence sales without any public announcement".

Such linguistic relativism. In giving his account, Scott is not his own best ally. The report is absurdly long. Giggamam takes over his lordship, as he journeys down every meandering and sometimes futile side-path of the arms export world, the licensing and concealment thereof, the 1939 statute that still governs it etc etc. The limitless verbosity of the High Court bench, so ready to reach for double negatives, is rotundly on display. But in most ways, the judge lives up to Howe's worst expectations. More than anyone could see in the first few hours after publication of the report, he exposes and denounces the world Howe speaks for.

It is true, for example, that he acquits Waldegrave of knowingly misleading the Commons. The minister had no "duplicitous intention". On the other hand, his conduct and that of Howe and every other minister had duplicitous about it. What remained "duplicitous", he writes, was the "nature of the flexibility claimed for the guidelines". In any other context than one in which ministers were expecting to be hung, drawn and quartered, such a verdict would have been worth a resignation.

The panoply of linguistic game-

playing, moreover, may satisfy the world of Howe. The armies of Whitehall have rewritten the grammar of honest accountability. But the judge is not impressed. The contention that the guidelines were not changed, he said in a paragraph that somehow escaped Lang's attention, "is so plainly inapposite as to be incapable of being sustained by serious argument".

HE SAW what was up. The change was kept secret for a very old-fashioned reason, which he understands. "It might legitimately have been feared that public knowledge of an intended relaxation of restrictions on the supply of defence equipment to Iraq would provoke such indignation in the media and among vociferous sections of the British public as to be politically damaging."

What Scott won't accept is that commercial interests should override all other considerations. He calls public disclosure a "constitutional" question, which should have been weighted better in the balance against political advantage and the intricacies of Middle East trade politics, real or imagined. His verdict on the world Howe defends is extraordinarily harsh. For six years, he

finds, the Government consistently undervalued the public interest in Parliament being kept informed. "Time and time again", ministers came down against full disclosure for no better reason than that this would be politically inconvenient.

Will the Scott report redefine Howe's "real world"? In one sense, the real world seems to be winning. Nobody is planning to resign. The linguistic conjurers think they've taken the big tricks.

The systemic indictment, however, stands. Ministers, clearly, intend to pay little attention. Having got the exonerations they wanted, they've made a few patronising references to Sir Richard's recommendations on export licensing. For the rest, they have no shame. Their world is Howe's world, and the only reason this opportunity arose to expose it was a misbegotten prosecution of Matrix-Churchill executives that went wrong.

The only weapon against cynical expectations is that the world of Richard Scott should capture the public mind as being inescapably superior to that of Geoffrey Howe. The ministers survive, to continue their heroic obfuscations. The judge, in his innocence, argues for something better. So should all who believe that these ministers, when put to the test, were serial defaulters against the truth.

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Zapatistas Take First Step to Peace

Molly Moore in Mexico City

ZAPATISTA rebels last week signed the first phase of a peace accord with the Mexican government that eventually could end their two-year-old guerrilla conflict.

The agreement on indigenous Indian rights is the first of six aimed at reestablishing peace in the troubled southern state of Chiapas. It is considered a breakthrough that could lead to more agreements which, added together, could end a stand-off beginning New Year's Day 1994 when the bloody insurrection broke out.

"Thousands... of men and women were consulted," said Zapatista commander Tacho, reading a statement from the Zapatista National Liberation Army in the central square of the Chiapas mountain town of San Andres Larralzar.



Marcos, the Zapatista leader, with Indian villagers in a picture taken a year ago during peace negotiations

months debating details of the first accord, which includes proposals for constitutional amendments giving Mexico's estimated 15 million Indians special rights based on ancient traditions and culture.

Tacho said rebel supporters asked their leaders to continue pushing demands for greater land

reforms and more autonomy for Mexico's Indians, long neglected by the government. It has remained intransigent on land reform issues, particularly demands that it give up claims to mineral and oil deposits under Indian-owned land.

But amid this mistrust and chaos, there stood Alberto Jose Carlos earlier this month, part of a lattered contingent of nervous rebels of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) who emerged from the bush and laid down their guns here at Negage.

Mistrust Dogs Angola Cease-Fire

Lynne Duke in Negage

IN THIS land ravaged by combat, peace looks a lot like war. A peace accord signed 15 months ago brought 20 years of civil war to an official end, but the cease-fire is riddled with bullet holes.

The disarmament and encampment of guerrillas was barely half of the predicted number but it constituted the most important step mandated by the November 1994 Lusaka peace accord — which ended the conflict between UNITA, led by Jonas Savimbi, and the government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos's Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

Labor Looks to Grow From Grass Roots

Frank Swoboda and Martha M. Hamilton

FOUR MONTHS after toppling Lane Kirkland and the entrenched leadership of the AFL-CIO, new chief John Sweeney and his political supporters have an ambitious plan to restore organized labor's political and economic clout by building a social movement outside of Washington.

Using a populist, grass-roots approach to politics and organizing, Sweeney hopes to revive an institution long in decline and struggling to deal with the forces of global competition and technological change.

Sweeney, with the backing of some of the federation's largest unions, is starting with a top-to-bottom reorganization at the AFL-CIO's marble and granite headquarters across Lafayette Square from the White House.

In their place is a cadre of "fortysomething" activists, many of whom came to the labor movement from a background in civil rights, community and anti-war organizing.

The Sweeney team is refocusing labor's spending with plans to increase political spending sevenfold, to \$95 million this year, and has targeted 75 congressional districts for large, get-out-the-vote efforts. It also plans to raise another \$20 million for organizing new members.

Part of that money will go into recruiting 1,000 young activists from college campuses and union halls for what they'll call Union Summer, a community and labor organizing campaign modeled after the civil-rights movement's Freedom Summer.

It's a deliberately different image from Bal Harbour, Florida, where labor leaders this week will have their last chance to lounge in poolside cabanas at a resort hotel during

the labor federation's annual winter meeting. Sweeney doesn't know where next year's meeting will be, but he's pushing for something decidedly less opulent and in a region where labor is running an organizing campaign.

Critics say it may be too late for organized labor to save itself. "The forces at work in the new age of Adam Smith are just too powerful for the union movement," said Leo Troy, an economist at Rutgers University in Newark.

Sweeney himself warned last spring that unions have become "irrelevant" to the vast majority of American workers. But others aren't willing to write labor off.

"There's a sense of optimism and energy the labor movement hasn't seen in decades," said Harley Shaiken, a longtime commentator on labor at the University of California at Berkeley.

Statistics released this month by the Labor Department show a continuing decline in union membership. Organized labor now represents 10.4 percent of the nation's private-sector workers, down from more than a third of the work force half a century ago.

But even when public-sector members are included, unions represent a bare 14.9 percent of all wage and salary earners, down from 15.5 percent just a year ago.

The AFL-CIO is not a union itself. It is a trade association for unions created in 1955 by a merger of the

American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Back then labor was powerful not only in politics and the workplace, but also in communities. An explosion of union organizing in the nation's basic manufacturing industries in the mid-1930s had helped propel a largely unskilled, blue-collar work force into the economic middle class.

Industrial unions had helped create good wages, job security and such benefits as pensions, paid vacations and health insurance that are taken for granted by many workers today.

But in recent decades, the nation's economic base shifted away from manufacturing to service and high-tech industries in which unions were weak. Labor leadership, with some notable exceptions, was slow to catch up to those changes and to adjust to the needs of women, Asians, Hispanics and blacks.

TODAY, AFL-CIO membership stands at 13 million, the lowest level since 1969 and barely more than the 12.6 million members it had when the federation was founded in 1955.

The answer, say the new union activists, is to take the labor movement outside the Capital Beltway and into the streets. "We're up to here in Washington-think. What we need now is a grass-roots base," said a Sweeney aide.

At the heart of change in the AFL-CIO is the newly created Organizing Department. Headed by Richard

Bensinger, 45, an activist with 15 years organizing experience, the department will first have to persuade the majority of the AFL-CIO's 78 member unions that organizing is the key to their future.

The new approach to organizing, which draws on the tactics of the late community organizer Saul Alinsky, will be on display during this Union Summer. Alinsky organized the economically oppressed in cities across America with tactics that included sending black picketers to the suburban homes of white slumlords and dropping dead rats on the steps of city hall.

The AFL-CIO hopes to build a cadre of activists across the country to register voters, work for legislation and organize workers at job sites. "Our members are participants in a broader community. Community issues are labor issues, too," said Sweeney.

Bensinger sees attracting young people to the cause as the key to effective organization. It is also the seed of the budding social movement Sweeney wants to build.

The AFL-CIO is coordinating some of its political organizing efforts with such groups as abortion-rights advocates and environmentalists, as it did in Oregon last month to help elect Rep. Ron Wyden to the Senate seat vacated by Bob Packwood. Wyden benefited from an activist base of 300 union members in Oregon who supported his candidacy.

In addition to the \$35 million the federation expects to spend on political races, the AFL-CIO will also benefit from the contribution of skilled political operatives detailed from individual unions to work in campaigns. Rosenjhal said the goal is to be "seamless" from legislation to politics.

Sweeney says critics should wait until the end of his first term before attempting to judge the success or failure of the new AFL-CIO.

Spectre of Iran haunts Bahrain

David Hirst

VIRTUALLY every Arab regime that counts has rallied to Sheikh Isa bin Salman al-Khalifa. The ruler since 1961 of the tiny island state of Bahrain is in trouble again.

The Khalifas are orthodox Sunni Muslims. Most of their subjects are Shi'ites, and poorer than the Sunnis. Of late, they have been disproportionately unemployed. They cannot serve in the army or police, and discrimination is growing in other state departments.

They are the natural breeding ground for opposition. They tend to look for support to Shi'ite Iran, which once laid claim to the island. Shi'ite clergy, headed by Abd al-Amir al-Jamri, are leading the latest unrest, which erupted after the banning of political sermons in mosques in mid-January.

The government says it has arrested about 600 people — the opposition says 2,000 — including Sheikh Jamri and a leading Sunni lawyer, Ahmad Shemlan. They are accused of inciting or participating in "arson and sabotage".

Three young men "confessed" to being trained by "terrorist elements abroad". Iran is said to mastermind this "foreign conspiracy". Bahrainis "sitting abroad without national roots" convey its orders to agents within. The state security court, officials say, will furnish irrefutable evidence of Iranian involvement.

But even if such proof exists — which is doubtful — it will not alter the fact that the Khalifas' troubles are of their own making.

The Khalifas are a growing tribe whose 800 menfolk abuse political power to muscle in on state and private enterprise. On this archipelago of only 260 square miles, they have grabbed about half the land, including entire islands, for themselves.

They built the opulent \$80 million Meridien Hotel with a loan from social security funds, which they have not repaid. Shi'ite unemployment is so high because princes own "royalties" from oil — whom they employ as workers.

That the recurrent dissent stems from a broad-based national movement has never been clearer than now. This phase began when Sheikh Jamri, a former deputy, helped muster 25,000 signatures for a petition demanding a return to constitutional rule.

Not one Arab government has questioned Bahrain's indictment of Iran as the sole cause of the growing unrest. The Gulf Co-operation Council — six conservative monarchies led by Saudi Arabia — formally endorses that view.

It is not just the Arabs. The United States, too, sees "Iranian elements" as the villains. One discordant note comes from the Gulf's only parliament in Kuwait, where eight deputies say Bahrainis are entitled to a partial amnesty.

It has become unfashionable to praise Kuwait, or to celebrate the reasons for its US-led liberation. Yet the US should be pleased that thanks to its sacrifice, Kuwaiti MPs are still free to denounce the Khalifas' medieval mentality. It seems the US, obsessed by Iran, is less free itself.

Fighting Liberia's other war

Drug abuse is rising as rebel commanders supply child soldiers, writes Cindy Shiner in Monrovia

COLONEL Abraham Kromah is fighting his own private war in Liberia's six-year civil conflict. His enemies are the drugs ravaging the country's youth, a scourge he believes led to the death of his 14-year-old brother, who was forced to join a rebel army.

"The rest [three other siblings] died at the hands of child soldiers who never knew what they were doing because they were under the influence of drugs," said Col Kromah, aged 30, deputy director of the national police and the head of

Interpol in Monrovia. He said his brother was killed in battle while on drugs provided by his commanders.

Before the war broke out in December 1989, Liberia was used as a transit point for drugs passed from south-east Asia through Nigeria. But now the country has become a drug consumer, adding another problem to poverty and civil strife.

The United Nations drug control programme is aware of the menace. It opened an office in Liberia last month. "Today it's all over the place,"

said Edward Grant, a psychiatrist at the John F Kennedy Memorial Hospital in Monrovia, who counsels and treats drug-addicted youths. "You can get heroin, you can get cocaine."

"We are quite aware of these problems, but just how much we are able to do about it depends on our resource capacity," said Joseph Jalalah, who heads Liberia's national interministerial drug committee.

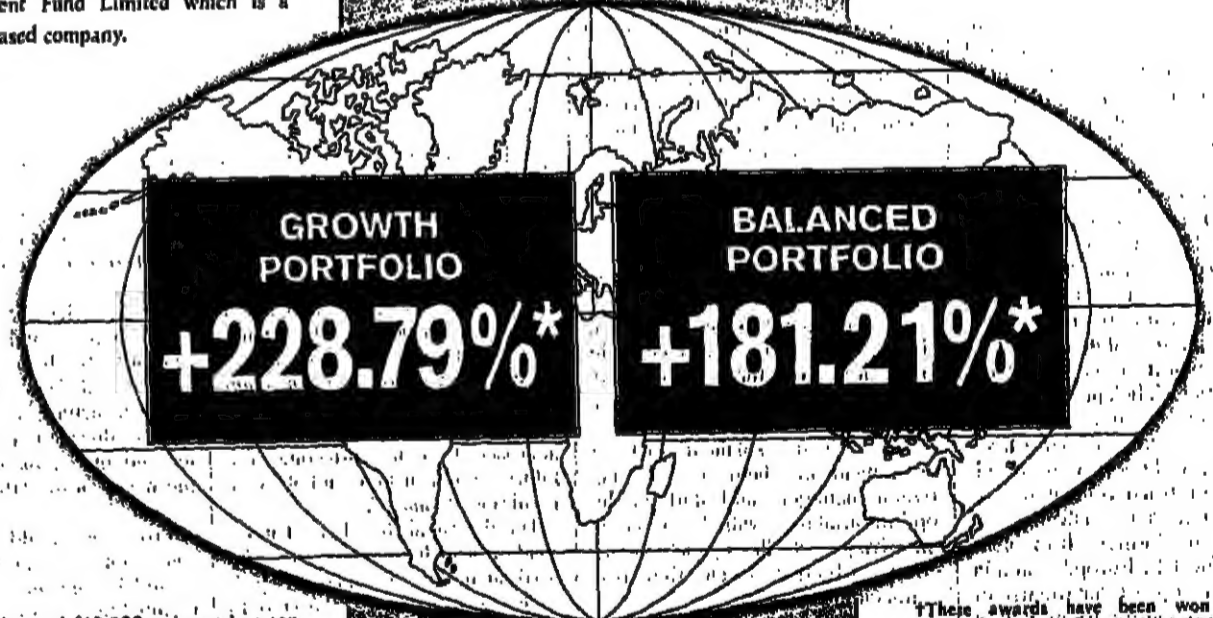
Fighting the drug trade has never been a priority for Liberia's governments. An interim administration signed international conventions on drug trafficking last year, and Mr Jalalah said he hoped to toughen legislation against drug traffickers.

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The ice maiden cometh

ART
Adrian Searle

THAT, jokes Anya Gallaccio, pointing into a side room as we wander the disused, silent engine halls of the Wapping Hydraulic Pumping Station in east London, "is my 'pre-menstrual housewife' piece". On the floor squat slabs of ice, each the size of a railway sleeper, leaning quietly on to the cement. Atop the ice sits an electric iron, apparently still plugged in. The surface of the ice is indented with the imprint of the hot iron. The ice woman cometh: I have an image of Gallaccio the fractious *hausfrau*, ironing the ice, blowing the fuses amid clouds of steam. Luckily, the iron isn't working.

This was just a prelude: down in the cavernous space of the abandoned boiler-room stands a glistening monument rising between the iron pillars of the empty, high-ceilinged space: a three-metre high, four-metre long, three-metre wide block of ice, standing in the spreading puddles as it melts, glistening in the gloom. It has been built from a stack of the same 200-kilo slabs, carted here from an ice factory in Kent. Buried within this transient monument — and barely visible within the ice's bluish translucence — is a houlder of Cheshire rock salt.

The salt's granular efflorescence has leached its way between the slabs, forming crystalline scabs on the surface. Also entombed is a strip-light, illuminating the work from within. This is overdoing things a bit, as the ice itself, refracting the daylight, generates its own glow.



Melt away... Anya Gallaccio's glistening ice sculptures are a memorial to loss and impermanence. PHOTOGRAPH: DAVID BILITZ

Ice sculptures are familiar enough as elaborate decorations at tacky banquets and cruise-ship dinner dances, but while we're used to frozen flights of swans and fanciful, glacial castles, this is chill-out minimalism. Gallaccio invariably uses impermanent materials — decaying, mouldering carpets of cut

roses and tulips; walls painted with a slowly festering layer of chocolate; table-top heaped with mounds of guttering from candles.

Her work has been described as a feminist spin on muscle-bound, male art forms — turning the colour fields of Barnett Newman and Mark Rothko into a fetid, perjured bower, or replacing the arid

stone arrangements of Richard Long with meadows by way of the florist's shop. But her work is more than a didactic postmodern twist on stereotyped masculinity.

"Before the flowers of friendship faded, friendship faded," wrote Gertrude Stein wistfully; Gallaccio's work is always a kind of memorial to loss. Loss and absence are the leit-

motifs of the art of our age. The death of the artist's brother has been a signal, albeit understated theme in Gallaccio's work, and she says of the latest ice piece that she wanted it to invoke an "unruly, uneasy feeling", the kind of feeling that presages love going wrong: "It is about human relationships, and I'm not very good at them."

The salt melts the ice from within, eating away from the inside, destabilising the structure. The outer surface is melting too, creating runnels, odd accidental pockets and gargoyles you can stick your finger into.

The feeling, as one runs one's hands over the ice, is both sensual and disquieting. What can't be avoided either is that this sculpture is physically dangerous. As the ice began to melt it fused the blocks together, but as further melting goes on, who knows whether it will disintegrate decorously or whether whole faces of the structure will slide off without warning. The change in the weather, and the rock of salt, are doing their work.

MUCH of Gallaccio's work looks like minimalism, but it is as much concerned with the drama of content, referentiality and metaphor, something the reductivist artists of the 1960s sought to avoid and deny. The object and the empty space around it were all there was — and that was all the viewer got. If Gallaccio's works were only concerned with form, we'd be left with little more than belated footnotes to the long line of process and materially derived works by earlier artists.

Where Gallaccio's work is sparse, concise and formally acute, Georgina Starr's work is copious, confusing and hectic. There's an overwhelming amount of material in her installation, titled *Hypnodreamdruff*, in the New Art Room at London's Tate gallery.

Side-step the weary queues for *Cézanne*, run past Bill Woodrow's overcooked, shopping-mall sculptures and plunge into the semi-darkness of a night-club called The

Hungry Brain. A video projection on the wall flashes up Starr herself, crooning away as the night-club chanteuse, while the "Four Marys" from *Bunty* go through a Lycra-clad Pan's People routine. The club audience, filmed in an earlier incarnation of the installation at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam, chat, curse and mill about.

The New Art Room is not big, but in Starr's installation it also contains the kitchen-diner of three ill-suited housemates, the bedroom of a young woman obsessed with the musical *Grease*, and a full-sized caravan occupied by a bloke called Dave. You can sit in Dave's caravan and watch him going about his solitary life via a video projected on the van's back window.

Watch Dave hovering in his underpants. Watch Dave get dressed. Watch him drinking alone and preparing spaghetti. Dave, it turns out, works in a dry-cleaners', but does magic tricks in his spare time. We get to know rather too much about Dave.

This part of Starr's work is compelling and exorcising. But it is but a fragment of Starr's meta-fiction, a sprawling overload of dream-sections, improvised, *rené* conversations between the purported occupants of the shared household, and a video of Starr playing all the parts in a scene from *Grease*, a musical she acted in as a teenager. Add to all this a spoof device for recording dreams and the themes of magic, madness, telepathy and hypnosis, and we, Starr's real-life audience, reel out in a state of discommodation.

Starr's work is subjective, self-referential and the product of a generation that grew up with its face pressed in the TV screen, while Gallaccio uses language games derived from the high-points of modernism, transmuted into lightly associative materials. Gallaccio, with her formal austerity, and Starr, with her mélange of techniques and guises and her maddening use of narrative, are both concerned with the deeper plots of their private lives, with human relationships, with what is shared and what is lost.

Australian chutzpah that travels well

THEATRE
Michael Billington

WE SEE far too little Australian drama in Britain. But Patrick Sandford at the Nuffield Southampton has had the wit to import David Williamson's controversial comedy, *Dead White Males*, which stirred things up in Sydney last year with its attack on fashionable literary theory and the wilder excesses of the thought police. Even though the play does not always fight fair, you have to admire Williamson's bravery and chutzpah.

His heroine, Angela Judd, is an English literature student who falls under the spell of a modish professor, Grant Swain, who uses all the right buzzwords. All literature is ideological, the patriarchal corporate state is the enemy and liberal humanism is its deadly handmaiden.

But when Angela, who communes nightly with the outraged ghost of Shakespeare, does a research project into her own family, she discovers that human

beings are full of uncatchable contradictions; that her chauvinist granddad was capable of unacknowledged altruism and that her passionately feminist mother both relished her career and felt pangs of guilt at the neglect of her daughter.

Williamson hits some of his targets dead centre. Swain is a wonderful creation; a smug academic who espouses post-structuralism and feminist multi-culturalism but who indoctrinates rather than educates his students and abuses his power by sleeping with them. He even makes "Have you read Foucault?" sound like a suave chat-up line and uses the Lacanese literary term, "jouissance", as a sexual turn-on.

It is a mean feat to make a popular comedy out of academic debate. Williamson even puts the process of teaching on to the stage.

His main weakness is in appropriating Shakespeare as an apostle of liberal humanism and the doctrine of the unchanging human heart, even giving us scenes from *As You Like It* and

King Lear to back up the point. But Williamson offers us a dramatically amplified *Will*, falling to acknowledge both his moral questioning and his multidimensionality.

But you do not have to agree with Williamson to find his play stimulating. At least he tackles head-on the whole question of academic mind-bending. And, in the family scenes, he shows there are no simple black and whites.

The grandad, nicely played by John Woodvine, may seem an old bigot to his wife and daughters but Williamson makes you aware that he was the working-class product of a wartime generation that had a hard life and that he is still capable of selfless generosity.

It's not a perfect play but addresses living issues. Sandford's production is spiritedly played by Jeremy Clyde as swinish Swain, Claire Price as intellectually awakened Angela, and Gabrielle Lloyd as her mum, who felt morally bound to tackle a world where only 3 per cent of top management are women. It's a deeply Australian play that travels well.

It's all Greek to me

TELEVISION
Nancy Banks-Smith

ISLAND OF DREAMS (Channel 4) is about British women who have fallen in love with Greeks on the Ionian island of Zakynthos. The producers have already made series about expatriates in Spain and the Dordogne. I am breathless with admiration for this wheeze. Personally, I doubt if Zakynthos is worth three hours but I can see why the TV crew thought otherwise.

Suzy is intelligent, articulate and near as dammit beautiful. She had a fiancé, a house and a job in publishing. Then she took a two-week holiday in Zakynthos and met Denis Vitosos, a farmer. He followed me continually for that two weeks... He asked me to stay and live with him the first week I was here. He had flowers in his back pocket for me where nobody could see them, but he would give them me when we were on our own. Of course, I fell for it. It was new to me, having men run after me with such vigour and such passion. You have to be a female to understand how incredibly... female they make you feel. Female is not exactly *juste*.

In Greece it means not only desirable but, as Suzy discovered, docile. "When you've been a business person and suddenly you're a nobody because you're a woman and a foreign woman, it's very demeaning. It's funny, you can stop believing you do have an opinion if nobody listens."

The island is very traditional. We had many a fight over the discipline he instilled into me. Rules that only applied to me, not to him. Those were the crying years... I didn't like it but I live with it now. I know the rules.

Over this commentary, we saw Denis picking his dog up by the collar and hauling it along, yelping. And he is very fond of his dog. Suzy said a wife comes about fourth after a man's mother, his shooting and his dog.

"If you don't love someone enough, it's difficult. Many a time, if there'd been a No 21 bus going to Lewisham, I would have been on it."

Every Greek marriage is a wooden horse. Inside is the mother-in-law. It sounds a subject for slaughter. You are surprised Sophocles didn't make a bigger thing of it.

Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes. Watch out for the flower in the back pocket.

Europe's Giants Look Beyond the Past

Moscow and Bonn are feeling their way round to a new relationship, write **Fred Hlatt** and **Rick Atkinson**



Russian soldiers in East Germany before the Wall came down. Many Russians nurse a grudge over the peremptory way in which Germany ushered out the remnants of the Red Army in 1994. PHOTO: MARTIN ARIELES

WHEN the backhoe has finished carving a trench along the shoulder of Volgogradskaya Street, Russian workmen comb the earth with garden trowels and bare fingers. The soil soon yields objects hidden for more than half a century: a helmet, a black boot, ribs, a skull.

In 10 minutes, the remains of yet another German soldier killed during the battle of Stalingrad — an epic turning point of World War II — are spread across a tarpaulin. Among the bones the workmen find an aluminum dog tag, and the identification number, matched to an old army roster, quickly yields a name: Leopold Franz Heydeck, a private first class from Wehrmacht Regiment 425.

Thirty years old when he died in November 1942, Heydeck had been buried hastily with scores of fallen comrades along the unpaved main street of this southern Russian village 10 miles from Volgograd, as Stalingrad is now called. Until this year, his bones would have been shoveled into a plastic bag and stored on a warehouse shelf with 6,000 other sets of remains of Germans already found in makeshift graves around the city.

But after years of negotiations, Russia and Germany agreed last summer to consecrate a new military cemetery west of the city. There, on the open steppe above the Volga River, Heydeck and his countrymen will finally be laid to rest.

"This is really important," said Hans Schildberg, a German forensic technician working with the Russians. "We just passed the 50th anniversary of the end of the war, and this is a testament to the change in the political relationship between our two countries." As a metaphor, the agreement to bury the past by properly burying the dead is both poignant and profound. Germany and Russia are the twin giants of Europe; the fate of the continent will be determined largely by the extent to which their relationship is cordial and constructive rather than bellicose and malignant. World War II and all its baggage remain an enormous psychological burden for both countries.

It will take more than cemeteries to establish a durable equilibrium. For much of this century, the two nations have been like scorpions in a bottle, both deeply imprinted with mutual fear and what Karl Lamers, a leading German foreign policy expert, calls "an extraordinarily problematic common history." The pressure points of today's relationship — economic, psychological, cultural and historic — will affect the merger of Eastern and Western Europe into a unified whole, as well as European stability in general.

"If you look at history and geography and economic relationships over the past centuries, whatever happened in Central Europe — and the Poles know it best — was affected by Germany and Russia," said a senior Foreign Ministry official in Bonn. "If Germany and Russia were on good terms, it was bad for the rest. If they were on bad terms, it was even worse. We are

aware of the weight of these two countries, these two big animals right in the middle of the pasture," he added. "And we must be very careful how we tread."

For the Germans — newly reunited but still unsure of themselves — Russia is a mother lode of natural resources and the embodiment of Germany's once and future links to the East. Diplomats in Bonn believe Germany is uniquely placed to engage a rapidly changing Russia on behalf of the West.

Yet in truth, German influence in Russia is nil when it comes to such fundamental issues as suppressing the insurrection in the secessionist region of Chechnya or cultivating a moderate successor to ailing President Boris Yeltsin. Moreover, Russian instability is a source of deep angst, a foreboding that if things go wrong in Moscow and St. Petersburg the consequences are dire for Berlin and Frankfurt.

"We in Germany have to live in a much closer and more direct relationship with Russia than the average American," said Otto von der Gableutz, Germany's ambassador to Russia until retiring in October. "But we have basically the same interest in [seeing] this unique chance of getting Russia out of a thousand years of isolation."

For Russians — shorn of their empire, quasi-democratic, deeply insecure — Germany offers a corridor to the West, as it did for Peter the Great three centuries before. It is also a cash cow: By Bonn's reckoning, since the Iron Curtain fell in 1989, Germany has provided Russia and the other former Soviet states more than \$71 billion in credits, grants and other disbursements — more than all other Western nations combined.

Eight hundred German firms now have representatives in Moscow. By virtue of proximity and historic ties, each country considers the other "a kind of preferred partner," as a German official puts it. "For Russia, the most reliable partner is Germany," agreed Anatoly Dmitriyev, general director of the Volgograd Margarine Factory. "We're not buying American or Japanese equipment... Politics is politics, but economics is economics." The Bonn government calculates, moreover, that on a per capita basis since 1989, every German has

contributed an average of \$360 in various aid programs to help Russia. Each Japanese citizen, by comparison, contributed on average less than \$9. For Germany, aid is both a fire wall against instability and a means of priming the pump for future business.

As the massive aid transfer suggests, the playing field is hardly level. Russia's gross national product is one-third that of united Germany, according to Maximychev. Although German officials believe billions of marks in investment are poised to flow into Russia, few German entrepreneurs are willing to gamble there heavily until such bugaboos as organized crime and erratic tax laws are brought under control.

"In 1994, German firms invested 110 million marks (\$79 million) in Russia," von der Gableutz said. "That's nothing, because in the whole world we've invested 56 billion marks (\$40 billion). This reflects, of course, on the very bad investment security conditions in Russia." Andrei Zagorski, deputy rector of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, observed, "Economically, Russia and Germany have had very high expectations of each other, and even though they never really lived up to those expectations, both consider themselves natural partners."

IF EXPECTATIONS run high, so do suspicions and insecurities. Russia has been reduced to the role of supplicant — a bitter pill for a nation that five years ago boasted the largest empire on Earth. Senate to slights, many Russians nurse a lingering grudge over the peremptory way in which Germany ushered out the remnants of the Red Army from Berlin in August 1994.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl, insisting that Moscow's forces had remained an army of occupation in eastern Germany for nearly five decades, refused to accord them equal status with US, British and French troops, who were feted as liberators and protectors. The snub still rankles in Moscow.

"Memories of the horrors and crimes of the last war, the old wounds and insults, personal tragedies and grudges — all are very much alive in the minds of the older generation and, one way or another, influence the mind-set of young people," Igor Maximychev, a retired diplomat who chairs the European security department in the Russian Academy of Sciences, wrote recently.

These "old wounds and insults" have played out in recent times, perhaps inarguably, in the world of art. Russian officials now acknowledge possession of tens of thousands of artworks and museum artifacts taken from occupied Germany after 1945. German officials say the booty is worth more than \$6 billion and includes not only paintings by Vincent van Gogh, Pierre Auguste Renoir and other masters, but also 2 million books and complete municipal archives from a number of German towns.

Negotiations over ownership of the loot have stalled. Russia's legislature has blocked the return of any objects, and the dispute — laden with pride, envy and two conflicting worldviews — threatens to become a dangerous flash point.

"There's an almost atavistic feeling in Russia where national pride is concerned, [an attitude] that after the destruction of the war, now we've got what is our due from the Germans and we're going to keep it," von der Gableutz said. "This is incompatible with the type of world the Russians want to live in." But Irina Antonova, director of the Pushkin Museum in Moscow, has insisted that the art is "compensation for the unprecedented damage" wreaked by the Third Reich.

Last year, essayist Vital Klibansky enumerated the Soviet losses: "Forty-seven million people were killed or wounded, 18 million babies were not born, 3,000 cities and towns were destroyed, 427 museums were plundered, 1,670 Russian Orthodox churches were destroyed or damaged, 532 synagogues and 237 Catholic churches were ruined, 180 million books were stolen and 564,700 pieces of art disappeared."

A poll published last year by the weekly newspaper *Wochepost* indicated that about one-third of Germans surveyed feel "threatened" by Russia. It is likely that a much higher percentage feels at least uneasy over potential threats: plutonium smuggling from Russia's besieged nuclear weapons establishment, environmental catastrophes such as the reactor disaster at Chernobyl a decade ago, Russian mafia networks spreading westward, economic or civil strife that could send thousands if not millions of refugees tramping toward the border.

"There's a concern that goes deep in Germany that all these things in Russia are developing in ways you can't calculate any more — crime, the mafia and so forth," a top German diplomat said. "We also feel much more clearly where the danger lies in Russia than do people in the United States, where events in Russia still seem a bit remote."

Alexander Maslankov, the German section chief in Russia's Foreign Ministry, pondered the tricky question of Russian and German spheres of influence as he sipped his cognac after a steak dinner in a Moscow hotel. "I don't see any great competition between Germany and Russia in Central Europe," he declared. "It's hard to answer a hypothetical question because it's not a current question. Somehow we'll just have to divide it up."

Such a cavalier approach to geopolitics provokes stern disapproval from German officials. Moscow, they say, has yet to grasp that Germany is less interested in bilateral thrusts than in extending multilateral institutions — especially the European Union and NATO — to provide prosperity and security for the entire continent. Any hint of the old enette that views the lands between Russia and Germany as spoils to be carved up is about as politically incorrect as it gets in Bonn.

"THIS is the fear or specter which has formed in some parts of Europe — will this not become in the last resort a German-Russian dominated Europe?" von der Gableutz said, alluding to an anxiety felt in Paris as well as in Prague. "Quite frankly, I think this is sheer nonsense. Why? This is one of the major points of my mission [in Moscow]: to tell the Russians that Germany is no longer the isolated nation-state they used to know."

Yet the suspicion lingers in Warsaw, Vilnius and other former Eastern Bloc capitals that they occupy a proving ground for Russian-German relations in the 31st century. For now, Russian influence is ebbing rapidly as German language, money and products become ever more ubiquitous. Again, the intangibles of pride and psychology are at play in ways difficult to measure.

Russia's strategy now is to temporize, to postpone competition for spheres of influence as long as possible in order to put its economic house in order and level the playing field, said Zagorski, of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations. "Building on the assumption that Russia will be a major European actor, the big question is: Will Russia be a major European problem or will it be a European partner?" he added.

"Germany has reconquered Eastern Europe on the basis of its economy," said Alexei Pushkov, a writer and political commentator. "What can Russia give Eastern Europe? Gas and oil? They are getting that anyway."

"There are cycles of domination. For the time being, there is nothing we can do," Pushkov added. "Eventually, [East Europeans] will feel they are too many Germans, too many Germans getting drunk in Prague and getting drunk in Warsaw, and they may turn to Russia. This will happen later, might I add, but it will happen later, might I add, but it will have something to do with the same cycle." (February 13)

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Revelations at the Movies

John Crowley
IN THE BEAUTY OF THE LIES
By John Updike
Knopf, 491pp, \$25.95

THE NOVEL, since its beginnings, has generated large numbers of subgenres. The varieties have lately seemed to proliferate wildly, like varieties of snack foods on supermarket shelves, and the bright if somewhat illusory array attracts not only readers but writers tempted to try something new, to see if they can turn out a campus farce, or an alternative-history novel, or a techno-thriller, or all three in one.

The kind that has now attracted John Updike's restless talent is the one where the generations of a family experience all the currents and counter-currents of the century, which variously pass them by, destroy them, or carry them to fame and adventure, thence to disillusion and loss. Among the usual components of this popular flavor are evocative lists of pop-cultural icons, walk-ons by real historical characters, and family members who recapitulate the experiences of earlier members in changed circumstances. All are present in Updike's version: so are Updike's voice and his repertoire of gesture and feeling, as distinctly his as the genre he is working in is common property.

Two themes connect the generations of the Wilmot family as they successively appear before us: One is God, the other is the movies. The story begins on a summer afternoon in 1910, in Paterson, New Jersey, as the Rev. Clarence Arthur Wilmot all at once loses his faith in God. Clarence has the courage of his unbelief. He gives up his comfortable living, reducing his family to poverty, and tries to make money selling encyclopedias to the working people of Paterson, most of whom are worse off than himself because of the long Paterson silk strike of 1913 (the one that broke the power of the Wobblies). In the darkened nickelodeons of the city

he escapes his dilemma, and finds there all that he will ever know of transcendence.

Clarence Wilmot's decline in status (and subsequent sickness and early death) has various effects on his family. His wife, Stella, will forget, and remake her husband into a sort of martyr, too good for the world, but she will never be entirely able to forgive. His son Jared's natural cynicism will find fuel in his father's foolish abnegation. And his youngest son, Teddy, will never forgive God for not relenting and giving his father the slightest sign of his existence.

For Clarence and his crisis of faith, Updike employs an upholstered prose, cut from that heavy gabardine yardage that runs from, say, George Eliot to William Dean Howells. "As, with an expression of morose benignity, he sat consuming his share of pork roast and its ample vegetable accompaniment, his wife and children — except for the youngest, little, careful, tongue-tied Teddy — were exceptionally animated and conversational." Only when he drops it, in Teddy's section, do we realize (gratefully) that this orotundity will not be permanent; we have already been reminded why the manner was discarded.

The world picks up speed dangerously in the 1920s, and frightens Teddy into abnegations of his own. His greatest skill — one he will pass on to his own grandson in malignant form — is for avoidance, and it will build him a small and, as he sees it in old age, an almost perfectly satisfactory life. He has avoided all the shoals upon which others have foundered. Not only that, he has known real love (with Emily, who has a malformed foot and a careful privacy of her own because of it) and has had a job he never tires of, as a postman in a small Delaware town.

Teddy too goes to the movies, but they somewhat frighten him with their extremities of pain and urgency, even the comedies. What lifted his father from the anguish of non-being and the pointless suffer-

ing of existence only reminds Teddy of them the more intensely. But for Teddy and Emily's daughter, Essie, growing up in the '40s, movies are not an escape; real life is the movies, and life itself the imitation. For Essie, Updike adopts a swift style richer than anything that has come before, and his vivid evocations of the artificial life of the screen, appealing and vivid throughout, now come through Essie's consciousness: "She [Ginger Rogers] wore dresses that were mountains of ruffles and big snakes of ostrich feathers that came up and covered her chin and no matter how fast he was making her move and swirl on the slippery ballroom floor her eyes stayed level and calm and warm like lamps inside her head."

ESSIE, remade as Alma De Mott, will herself enter alive into that empyrean as a star. Single-minded and heroically self-regarding, she is also the only one of the Wilmots who genuinely and spontaneously believes in God: not in church or religion, but in God as the source of the universe's love and beneficence just for her. God catches up Essie's son, Clark, in the final part, and destroys him; but we never know that Clark really believes in anything.

A cliché who understands he is a cliché (the useless and insufficiently loved son of a beautiful remote mother and her succession of nonentity husbands), Clark in 1990 is in his twenties, working at a ski resort that his great-uncle Jared has made out of a played-out copper mountain in Colorado. Teddy's talent for evasion and Jared's cynicism, his own rootlessness and irreality (movies are the most real thing in his life now, but he no longer believes in them) and up in Clark to a plain zero; when a casual pickup takes him to a commune in the mountains run by a religious zealot, the leader "stepped into him like a drifter taking over an empty shack."

With prophet Jesse and his Temple we are in purgatus that seem more remote even than Paterson in



ILLUSTRATION: VINT LAWRENCE

1913 from Updike's own growing-up; yet they are as sensually sharp and exact as anything in the book, a physical environment of astonishing verisimilitude, the "mummified bundles of guns smelling of the oil that kept them eternally young," the barrel of the gun assigned to Clark that "floated outward like a flexible, sensitive wand when he embraced the polished stock of silky checkered walnut."

The outcome is clear early on, and it is to be wondered what exactly we are to make of the Waco-in-alternative-universe that ends the book abruptly. The mechanisms of apocalyptic belief are not studied, as we never learn that Clark actually believes; Jesse, the self-taught prophet, is a sort of cliché too, with his endless awkward Biblical references, his clutch of young wives, his prophecies of de-

struction. The whannies (as the moviemakers of Clark's generation call them) come as expected, and are a *tour de force* of narrative management, though we can sometimes glimpse the author busy at work consulting his gun digest and reference works.

The key to Updike's intent may lie in the epigraph from which the otherwise puzzling title comes: "As he died to make men holy," the "Bath-Hymn of the Republic" says, "let us die to make men free." The God that Clarence Wilmot abandoned at such cost strikes upon his great-grandson, but — very nearly too late — Clark is given the chance to die in making at least a few women and children free. The question remains what, when we awaken both from the dream of Revelation and the revelations in the darkened theater, we awaken to.

did he have all the qualities ascribed to him above, but he had a lively interest in the world around him and entered his observations about many aspects of it in his "Thermometer Book," often couched in tart, forthright terms. Considering all the obstacles that his time and place conspired to place before him, he must be reckoned a singular man by any reasonable measure.

Yet there is another point about Amos Webber upon which Salvatore may have been singular, but he was also prototypical. Because Salvatore found his papers and made such a fine book out of them and other evidence, we know more about Webber than we do about the vast majority of his fellow black Americans of his time or any other. But it is the existence of his written record rather than the facts of his life that makes Amos Webber unusual. As a black American who worked hard all his life, believed in his country even when his country did not believe in him, and lived by the right as best he understood it, he was one among millions. The reality of the African presence in America is of fidelity, forbearance and faith, which is why Amos Webber's story is also the story of many thousands gone.

Fanfare for Black America's Common Man

Jonathan Yardley
WE ALL GOT HISTORY
The Memory Books of Amos Webber
By Nick Salvatore
Times Books, 443pp, \$25

of intelligence and acuity, deep moral conviction and unwavering self-confidence, a man who never rose above the rank of janitor at a Worcester mill, yet was a figure of consequence not merely within that city's small black enclave but within the larger community as well.

At the age of 28, while living and working in Philadelphia, Webber began keeping a regular record of temperatures and weather that gradually grew into something more. "His was never a confessional diary," Salvatore writes, "and one will look in vain for an introspective analysis of his emotions and motives. Yet his self-confidence with his chosen form evolved over time. Less a diarist than a recorder, a chronicler, a commentator on his world, Amos Webber grew into his task." Much about Webber is missing from these ledgers — his wife of more than half a century is scarcely mentioned, and the heart-breaking death of their only child is recorded with emotions in check, if barely — yet Salvatore has been able to find much in it.

"What can be said with confidence is that Amos Webber used his chronicle to develop ideas that, as a

black man in white society, he had limited opportunity to explore in more public venues. At the deepest level Webber told stories in his own particular narrative style because he found great personal satisfaction in knowing that the chronicle existed. His life, and the lives of his friends and associates, counted for something in this world; and his storytelling redeemed some of the pain, and preserved some of the pleasure, of daily life."

FROM an early age Webber had been imbued with a powerful moral sense; it intensified when, as a young man, he worked for a well-to-do Philadelphia white man who was similarly inclined and who encouraged Webber's moral development.

Perhaps because of his happy youthful experience in Philadelphia, Webber had a "familiarity with the white world and [an] ability to maneuver diplomatically through the racial currents of sympathetic and not so sympathetic whites," but his first allegiance beyond moral vision and patriotism was to his fellow blacks. In Philadelphia and then in Worcester, he was a leader in the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows,

a civic organization that helped build "the institutional framework for the expression of a distinctive black culture in the North, a culture whose synergism and diversity reflected the labyrinthine circumstances of being black, Christian and American in an environment largely hostile to [blacks'] very presence."

Yet he was no less an American than a black man. He served in the Civil War, sometimes in demeaning capacities to which white officers assigned his unit, the Fifth Massachusetts Colored Cavalry, but also at the capture of Petersburg. This was "a historic moment: to have taken in the destruction of the slave system gave ultimate meaning to [black soldiers'] sacrifices and raised great hopes for the future, which is why Webber and his comrades were possessed by 'an indescribable joy and fierce pride' in what they had accomplished. When the war ended Webber became active in the Grand Army of the Republic, and remained active even after whites successfully limited black membership.

Implicit in Salvatore's narrative is the assumption that Amos Webber was a remarkable man. Not merely

Le Monde

Bishops depart from Vatican line on Aids

Henri Tincq

IN A report on Aids published on February 12, French bishops accept for the first time that the use of condoms is "necessary" to prevent transmission of the Aids virus. The report, called La Société En Question, was published by the Social Commission of the French episcopate.

In this official document, which, remarkably, makes no allusion to the Pope's stance on the matter, the president of the Social Commission, Monseigneur Albert Rouet, bishop of Poitiers, reports on how the episcopate's thinking on this issue has gradually shifted to the point where consensus seems to have been achieved.

While stating that condoms are "necessary" and saying how happy he is that they have "partly" made it possible to slow down the spread of Aids in France, Rouet also explains at length why the Catholic Church generally advocates a different kind of solution — fidelity in love — and contends, unlike the medical profession, for example, that prevention campaigns aimed at young people should not be based solely on the recommended use of condoms.

The drift of the bishops' message is that it is no longer reasonable for them to give the impression that a disease like Aids is purely a question of individual behaviour and private morals about which the Church has nothing to say. "Aids is not other people's disease," the report says. "The whole social fabric is affected by it. To be able to talk about Aids one needs to take into account each individual's background and the state of society."

It was contact with patients and nursing staff that eventually convinced Rouet that the public could no longer understand the Church's stance on Aids prevention. The three latest documents published by the Social Commission — on unemploy-

ment (1993), housing (1995) and now Aids — are symptomatic of a change in the episcopate's methods.

The very structure of La Société En Question, which comprises first-hand accounts by experts, Aids sufferers, relatives, nursing staff and even a homosexual (for the first time in any official text put out by the Catholic Church), demonstrates that, far from distancing themselves from a scourge still described in some reaches of the Church as retribution for "deviant behaviour" or even "God's punishment", Christians as a whole often play an active role wherever the disease is present or debated.

Whether that role is active enough is another matter. It is a pity that the report's succession of first-hand accounts seems to have provided the bishops with an excuse not to pronounce more generally on the spiritual experience of believers who come into contact with Aids sufferers, on the low degree of mobilisation found in Christian parishes, on their failure — with a few exceptions — to take part in events like World Aids Day, on the difficulty of organising preventive campaigns in Catholic schools, and on the role of hospital chaplains (outlined in the report by a Protestant chaplain).

However the bishops call for "fears to be exercised" and for "everything to be done to overcome the isolation of Aids sufferers" shows they are now much more willing to commit themselves on this issue.

This has clearly set them on a collision course with Rome. When asked about the absence of any reference in La Société En Question to Rome's thinking on Aids, Rouet said: "We wanted to focus our attention on the situation in France and assume our responsibilities as French bishops."

In other words, the use of the word "necessary" in conjunction with condoms was quite deliberate



And now, dear listeners, here is an original idea for a St Valentine's present

and bound to risk friction with the Vatican only a few months before the Pope's visit to France.

As soon as news of the report's contents was revealed earlier this month, the episcopate's secretariate received a "horrified" telephone call from the apostolic nuncio's office in the Vatican.

ALTHOUGH there was no immediate official reaction from Rome, there can be little doubt that influential figures in the Vatican will start doing some discreet arm-twisting.

Two of their most conservative members enjoy a virtual monopoly when it comes to propounding the Vatican's thinking on natural contraceptive methods and on Aids. They are Cardinal Lopez Trujillo, the Colombian president of the Pontifical Council for the Family, a man who has enjoyed the Pope's particular trust ever since he brought the Latin-American bishops to heel, and

Cardinal Fiorenzo Angelini, who is in charge of health matters in the Vatican, and who is known for having had political and financial ties with leading Italian Christian Democrats.

The bishops who sit on the French episcopate's Social Commission are familiar with the realities of everyday life. They know the Church cannot go on issuing cut-and-dried declarations or deal with such a complex issue as Aids in a prescriptive way.

They were unhappy about last year's criticism of the episcopate as a "silent" body made up of "submissive and fearful officials" and about the constant talk of a widening rift between the Church and society.

All the signs are that they decided to risk upsetting their Roman overlords on an issue as tragic as Aids. These bishops are certainly not rebels, but they may have felt it was time to send a clear message to their Church.

(February 13 and 14)

Pope 'suffers from major mental block'

The French scientist who discovered the Aids virus talks to Jean-Yves Nau

PROFESSOR Luc Montagnier, the man who discovered the Aids virus, regards the shift in the French bishops' attitude towards the use of condoms in the fight against Aids as an "important development". Their report, he says, "agrees with the conclusions of many doctors and scientists, namely that the condom is a mechanical way of preventing infection, but that it is not the only one."

"But this does not mark a complete U-turn. It is to be noted that it is not the bishops themselves who state that condoms are 'necessary' as a preventive method, but that they quote — approvingly — the view of 'competent doctors' and the action of public health authorities."

"The bishops' report has the merit of tackling the problem very frankly instead of, as in the past, discussing or alluding to it indirectly. In this sense, it's a very positive step."

Montagnier believes that the great majority of doctors have never advocated condoms as a panacea, contrary to exaggerated claims made by some members of the Catholic hierarchy.

"We've never said condoms were the only means of protection against infection by the Aids virus. On the other hand, we have always stressed that this method should not be ruled out on religious grounds."

Because he was deeply concerned by the negative attitude of the religious authorities, Montagnier has been to the Vatican on several occasions.

"I was surprised, in November 1993, to have been very warmly applauded for a talk I gave there on the subject," he remembers. "I subsequently learnt that the audience consisted of representatives of religious congregations working on the ground. I then realised the applause meant that I had said out loud what many of them thought themselves but could not express."

How does Montagnier explain the longstanding discrepancy between the Catholic rank and file and the official line of the Church? "Those who make up the Pope's immediate circle, and indeed the Pope himself, suffer from a major mental block. The Pope belongs to another generation, and was trained in Poland, a country where the Church has remained extremely traditionalist."

"It has to be remembered that the Vatican's condemnation of condoms was issued as part of its rejection of contraception. I tried to win support for my arguments, but I was unsuccessful because of the influence of the Pope's entourage. I don't think the Pope is going to change his mind. But the fact that he allows dignitaries of the Catholic Church to put forward a different point of view marks a step forward."

Above all, now that the French have shown the way, bishops in Africa and Latin America, the regions of the world worst affected by the epidemic, ought to meet very soon and agree to deliver the same message. It's vital."

(February 13)

Pressure builds on Samper to stand down

Anne Proenza in Bogotá

INVESTIGATIONS into Colombian president Ernesto Samper's personal involvement in the alleged financing of his 1994 election campaign with drug money were officially reopened on February 14, when the prosecutor-general, Alfonso Valdivieso, gave evidence before a meeting held in camera of a special committee of the Congress, which is the only body empowered to judge the president.

Escorted by dozens of bodyguards and assailed by a pack of reporters who had been waiting for him for several days, Valdivieso handed over his voluminous evidence, which consisted of more than 50 folders and two video cassettes.

The president had managed to fend off the charges against him on December 15. But the new evidence, contributed by Valdivieso, convinced the congressional committee of the need to restart investigations. Leaks published by all Colombia's newspapers suggested there are grounds

for charging the president with four offences: electoral fraud, personal enrichment, forgery and the concealment of evidence.

The congressional committee will hand down its verdict within the next four months. The Congress will then decide whether to press formal charges against President Samper.

If it goes ahead, the president will be temporarily relieved of his office. Then it will be up to the Senate to determine his fate.

Samper's critics believe the president is liable to criminal charges, they will pass the case on to the Supreme Court of Justice. Experts believe the whole process could take from six to eight months — a long period of time given the unrest now gripping Colombia.

Hardly a day goes by without some new revelations about the scandal being revealed by the media. On February 14 the Liberal senator, Gustavo Bapista, was remanded in custody on charges of illegal personal enrichment in the same way as

the president. He is the fourth sitting member of parliament to have been jailed. Other prisoners include the former defence minister, Fernando Botero, the former treasurer of Samper's election campaign, Santiago Medina, and one of the president's advisers, Juan Manuel Abella.

Three ministers — the interior minister Horacio Serpa, the foreign minister Rodrigo Parde, and the communications minister Juan Manuel Turbay — all of whom played a major role in Samper's election campaign, are expected to find themselves facing a similar plight within the next few days.

In the past few days an increasingly weary-looking Samper, has consistently proclaimed his innocence. Meanwhile the political climate has been steadily deteriorating and the country is facing its biggest crisis for 35 years.

On February 12, in the course of outlining the results of his anti-drugs policy to an audience of army officers, ministers and reporters, the president made a point of reviving painful memories of the years of drug-related terrorism by projecting on to a large screen pictures of the bomb attacks that caused such terrible bloodshed in Colombia during the eighties.

But those days are not entirely a thing of the past. On February 14, guerrillas massacred 11 peasants, including one woman, in the north of the country. The victims were "picked out" by a group of 12 guerrillas who had boarded a bus talking workers to the Opatka banana plantation, 10 km from Carepa, in the Urabá region. In 1995 more than 700 people were killed in that region, where five similar massacres took place.

(February 18)

Screen tales from Sandinista country

The British film director Ken Loach is making a film in Nicaragua. **Pascal Mérieau** reports from the set

"A LWAYS red and black," reads the inscription on a grave dug by the side of the Pan-American highway, north of Estelí, about two hours' drive from the capital, Managua. The spirit of the Sandinistas is evidently still alive in Nicaragua.



Oyanka Cabezas and Robert Carlyle, who play the central characters in Loach's film, *Carlita's Song*, on location in Nicaragua

The area was one of the centres of the revolution of 1978-79, which has left many a scar on both the walls of houses and people's minds. That is why Ken Loach chose it as a location for the film he is currently shooting, *Carlita's Song*. A mud track and a bridge provide access to the village of Duacale Grande, which was hit by a cholera epidemic last summer. British film technicians rebuilt the bridge, which had been swept away by floods. But they also built houses which they later planned — to the bemusement of the villagers — to blow up.

The whole population of Duacale Grande, including children and old people, gathered at a respectable distance from the main square, holding their hands over their ears to lessen the sound of the explosions. This scene of destruction took them back nine years to the time when the fledgling Nicaraguan democracy was under attack from the Contras. The fact that the Contras' arms and military strategy had been provided by the United States was the first thing that struck Loach when he read the screenplay by Paul Laverty, a young Scots lawyer who had visited Nicaragua with the idea of helping to nurture what shreds of human rights had survived there.

The film, which is set in 1987, tells how a Glasgow bus-driver called George (played by Robert Carlyle, whom Loach used in his 1991 movie, *Riff Raff*) makes the acquaintance of Carla (Oyanka Cabezas, a Managua dancer), a young woman whose odd behaviour is the result of traumatic experiences in Nicaragua. George was planning to marry, but decides instead to accompany Carla back to her country and help her try to find the man she loves.

It took five years for Laverty to write his screenplay, and another three for Loach and his producer Sally Hibbin to get the project off the ground. Loach visited Nicaragua for the first time just before making *Ladybird* (1994). Since then, he has made *Land and Freedom*, which is set during the Spanish Civil War.

Many members of the crew on that film are now in Nicaragua working on *Carlita's Song*. They come from 14 different countries. Loach started filming in Glasgow in November before moving on to location in Nicaragua — as usual, he decided to shoot the sequences of the film in chronological order.

Despite the problems that cropped up every day, mostly the result of inadequate infrastructure and means of communication (telephones do not lie thick on the ground in Nicaragua). Loach always seemed relaxed. It was as if he had decided to try to make the most of the inevitable snags and delays. But appearances can be deceptive. In the best British stiff-upper-lip tradition, Loach, usually wearing his shirt collar buttoned up despite the heat, refused to let his irritation show through. But in one-to-one conversation he did admit that things were going much too slowly for his liking.

In front of the camera. It was strange for her to plunge back into those tragic times, which she remembers as being remarkable chiefly for the way they generated solidarity between ordinary people. Before the revolution, her house in Estelí had been used as a meeting place by the Sandinistas.

There is a new spring in ministerial steps, despite the Scott report. Conservatism is obviously working; and a further interest rate cut cannot be far away. Those 15 years of labour market reforms, weakening trade unions and reducing protection to employees have made workers less hawkish in wage claims.

The pre-emptive interest rate rises 18 months ago by the Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, showed a determination on the issue of inflation that is now paying off. And ministers' loyalty to free trade and the global market has produced tough competition that offers a cap to inflation. Happy days! Maybe the next election is winnable, after all.

That's one prism through which to look at the world, but a closer inspection behind the figures unmasks a less Panglossian interpretation. Labour-market flexibility, globalisation and pre-emptive disinflation are part of a wider story in which, put simply, capital has become very powerful in relation to labour. The share of profits in national income has risen sharply while the share accruing to wages has fallen to its lowest level for 40 years.

False dawn for the British economy

Will Hutton

LAST week saw some remarkable statistics. UK unemployment in January fell to its lowest for five years, but mean-while underlying inflation dropped below 3 per cent. Even the Bank of England acknowledged that the Government is a little more likely than not to hit its 2.5 per cent target for underlying inflation in the next two years. Britain's chronic tendency to inflation seems to be evaporating.

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more rather than less of their activity close to home. Nor do Hirst and Thompson detect a vast flood of investment into low-wage, less developed countries. Indeed they argue that mass production of all but very simple low-tech goods is very risky outside the infrastructure offered by developed countries. They tend to invest in a few developing countries where economic success is proven but largely reliant on shifting labour from low value-added agriculture to high value-added industry, and this cannot take place more than once.

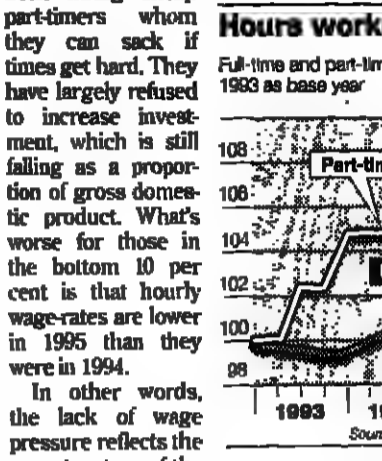
The story of a vast pool of cheap Asian labour hanging like the sword of Damocles over wage levels in the West is unjustified: there is too little investment in these countries by multinationals or competition from them to explain trends in the British labour market. In any case, the vast bulk of trade and investment flow is between Europe, Japan and North America — with similar wage levels. The main impact on the labour market is the perceived threat of multinationals and large domestic companies moving production to low-cost countries. But most would rather retain the threat than deliver it and it is the threat, some argue, that is helping reduce wage pressure.

This seems far-fetched as an explanation of the changes in employment and wage patterns across the economy. Something more profound is going on — and a glance at the business pages shows what it is.

United Kingdom plc is in the throes of a wave of takeovers and mergers that makes the 1980s look tame. Over the past week or so, Rentokil has bid for the giant conglomerate BET; Granada, fresh from its takeover of Trust House

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For the first time since 1991, more than 100,000 people have found jobs in the past year. This is a significant rise in part-time work. People have been moving from unemployment into a world of insecure, part-time jobs, a category which now constitutes 30 per cent of the labour market.

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In Brief

LORD WAKEHAM, a former UK minister, is to mediate between debt-laden Eurotunnel and its 225 banks. Negotiations for a \$12.4 billion refinancing package are deadlocked.

REUTERS, the media and information group, maintained a 10-year record of profit growth, posting \$928 million for 1995.

LOYDS TSB, the newly merged UK bank, announced \$2.6 billion pre-tax profit amid union warnings that it was seeking 650 branch closures involving 10,000 jobs.

THORN EMI is to become the latest British group to "demerge" by splitting into an EMI-led music business and an electrical retailing operation.

FORD car workers in Britain have voted not to strike over a package to raise pay by 9.25 per cent over two years but do nothing to cut the working week.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Swireling rate February 19	Starting rate February 12
Australia	2.0450-2.0491	2.0270-2.0311
Austria	15.66-15.71	15.63-15.68
Belgium	45.88-46.98	46.30-46.41
Canada	2.1398-2.1424	2.1397-2.1407
Denmark	8.82-8.85	8.70-8.72
France	7.69-7.70	7.74-7.75
Germany	2.2322-2.2360	2.2257-2.2558
Hong Kong	11.94-11.95	11.82-11.83
Ireland	0.9091-0.9176	0.9172-0.9238
Italy	2.448-2.449	2.404-2.406
Japan	160.84-160.91	163.17-163.44
Netherlands	2.4989-2.5021	2.5224-2.5255
New Zealand	2.2894-2.2715	2.271-2.2739
Norway	8.78-8.79	8.83-8.84
Portugal	202.79-203.37	232.79-234.39
Spain	168.35-168.85	168.81-169.90
Sweden	10.65-10.66	10.62-10.64
Switzerland	1.8109-1.8197	1.8333-1.8411
USA	1.5450-1.5480	1.5304-1.5314
ECU	1.2190-1.2208	1.2272-1.2284

FTSE 100 shares index up 17.11 to 3744.3. FTSE 250 index down 87.8 to 4190.3. Gold up 20.32 to \$306.90.

CLASSIFIED

The importance of being Russian

Sandro Cappelletto meets rising star Valery Gergiev, conductor and director of St Petersburg's Kirov Theatre

VALERY GERGIEV hammered his message home: "It's a question of now or never," I told Prime Minister Chernomyrdin. "Either you do something straight away and you really do it, or you can say goodbye to this theatre. There's no time to be lost." But I wonder if what I said really sank in.

Gergiev, a 43-year-old with characteristically Caucasian features (the hairs from Ossetin), has been running the Kirov Theatre in St Petersburg since 1988. The theatre, like the Bolshoi in Moscow, is one of the great monuments of Russian musical life.

In Milan and at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées in Paris. But he spends three quarters of his time at the Kirov. The degeneration of cultural life in Russia is something he finds deeply depressing. "I often ask myself: why did I stay in Russia? Gorbachev opened the doors and everyone did a bunk. In the past five years we've lost centuries of tradition. A nation that once had extraordinary musical assets is becoming impoverished."

Gergiev is scathingly critical of politicians' lack of interest in music. "They stand there with a smile on their faces. They only come so they're in the official photo on the night of the premiere. There's no way of getting to talk to them — and

anyway they're always playing musical chairs. That doesn't really matter — the wealth of Russia is my theatre, and not this or that minister. The new breed of political animal in Russia, as anywhere else, is only interested in culture as an instrument of power."

Then everything disintegrated at unbelievable speed. Nowadays, when someone like Rostropovich wants to put on a production of Mussorgsky's *Khovanshchina* at

the Bolshoi he has to call on the services of our St Petersburg singers, because there aren't any left in Moscow. Our young singers learn their skills at our music schools with the help of our teachers, then an agent turns up and gets them to sign a contract. Then they vanish without trace. The man who decides on the future of Russian singers is an American agent. It's scarcely believable.

"Musicians I once trained now perform all over the world, from San Francisco to Tokyo — people like Gorgashkova, Borodina, Grigorian and Galushin. I create stars and they're snatched from me," Gergiev adds angrily.

"St Petersburg was a European city in the 18th century," he says. "Italian music was performed there. In the 19th century, Berlioz and Wagner visited the place. Verdi went there for the premiere of *La Forza Del Destino*, then it was Richard Strauss's turn. I want to re-

vive that international tradition, and naturally, at the same time, stick up for our national repertoire."

Meanwhile in St Petersburg, labour and equipment costs are rising while the Kirov's budget has been trimmed. Gergiev has had to increase ticket prices. "But if I raise them any more, it won't be the Russian people, those true music-lovers, who will be turning up at the theatre, but *non-sensar riches* who neither know nor understand anything."

So why hasn't he left? Gergiev gives a simple reply: "Because I'm Russian."

Director: Jean-Marie Colombani
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Special on life

Students on the brink

Universities in Europe face severe cuts as education budgets are slashed to meet Maastricht targets. **Harriet Swain** assesses the campus prospects

THEY have been marching in Paris, demonstrating in Bonn, holding sit-ins in Rome. After years of burying their heads in books, students across Europe are beginning to make tentative complaints about their lot.

In Germany and France they can queue for hours to find seats in a lecture hall. In Britain and the Netherlands, grants barely cover the cost of basic food and accommodation, and young people are receiving more of their financing through loans, which must be repaid once they find the jobs that are increasingly hard to secure.

Scenes of Parisian students marching down the Boulevard Saint-Germain last November evoked memories of the demonstrations in 1968. But this time the theme uniting young people across the European Union is not ideological but practical. The common fear is unemployment; the common demand is for an education to keep them ahead in the European jobs market and for the money to pay for it.

The trouble is there is less public money around. Budgets across Europe are becoming tighter as governments struggle to meet the criteria for European monetary union.

In Germany, a budget deficit of DM 6 billion (\$4 billion) has squeezed every part of public-sector spending, including higher education. Berlin alone is being forced to reduce funded student places by 15,000 within 10 years, while the number of actual students will stay roughly the same.

Nearly two bodies occupy every student seat in the average German university. Thirty years ago, university heads and politicians agreed to accept swollen student numbers temporarily, expecting them to have fallen back by this time because of fewer 18-year-olds.

Instead, with more than a third of young people now wanting to go to university the situation is worse than ever.

Increasingly, intake on courses is being restricted, something which goes directly against the German principle of higher education being open to everyone who passes their school leaving diploma (Abitur).

Recent money-spinning ideas have included charging wealthier students tuition fees and demanding interest on loans. Both have sparked protests from young people, who late last year staged demonstrations in Bonn.

Meanwhile, in France, the number of students entering higher education has risen by 83 per cent over the past 20 years and government policy is to increase it still further.

Efforts to meet Maastricht criteria have left little public cash to pay for this expansion. Universities say they need millions to pay off existing debts, let alone employ extra staff. Students are also demanding the kind of personalised contact with lecturers experienced by their counterparts in England, feeling it will prepare them better for work.

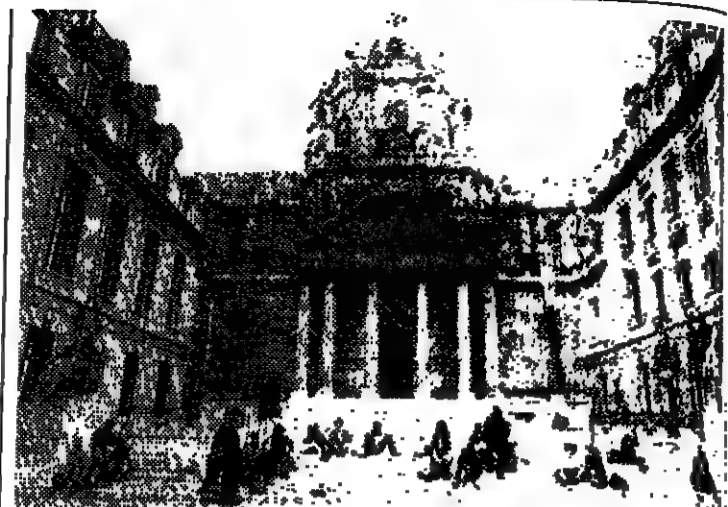
November's student strike started when Rouen students demanded more money to pay for 188 new teaching posts at their university.

In the Netherlands, overcrowding is less of a problem but, unlike the French, the Dutch government is determined to reduce student numbers. Ministers hope to see the number of young people entering higher education drop from 185,000 to 40,000 by 2004 and are looking for cuts amounting to 200 million guilders (\$120 million).

Twenty years ago, the Dutch government's policy was to allow everyone the chance to go to university. Now it claims there are no longer enough jobs for graduates, and young people should be encouraged to develop technical skills instead.

Opponents say it is simply a way of saving money. But it is not the only savings scheme. All students at Dutch universities now receive a grant of about 470 guilders (\$285) per month if they live away from home, plus a loan. From September all grants will become loans that must be repaid, unless the student achieves a high enough exam grade at the end of the year.

Conditions vary considerably in



Uncertain future... fear of unemployment has led students in Paris and across Europe to take to the streets. (Left) ANN VAN DER WEGHE

Italy, from the packed lecture halls of Rome's La Sapienza university — with more than 150,000 undergraduates in an institution originally designed for 30,000 — to the relative quiet of Ferrara.

Education ministers have tried to solve financial problems by encouraging more private investment, although this has proved controversial with students. Sit-ins have become a common part of university life, with protests over staff shortages, understaffed libraries and over-full lecture halls.

Problems in individual countries can no longer be treated in isolation as a period of study abroad increasingly becomes a must for EU students. Overcrowding in French universities handicaps foreign undergraduates studying there as much as French students. Pressure on courses such as medicine in the

Netherlands means that Dutch medics are being sent for training to other European countries.

Governments are torn between the need to meet financial criteria for inclusion in monetary union and their desire to produce an educated workforce able to compete once they get there. Their proposed solutions vary, but most hit students, & their financially or in their studying conditions.

European education specialist Professor Claudius Gellert, professor of education at the Royal University, said he was surprised that students were not making more fuss under the appalling circumstances faced by some. German student Nicolai Andler was more pragmatic. He said most young people were so worried about working to secure their own futures that they had little time left for protesting.

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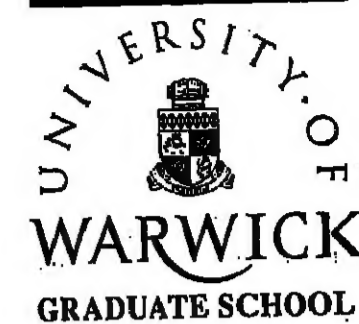
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Susan Parry and Elizabeth Connell get to grips with the most problematic of Wagner's masterpieces
PHOTOGRAPH: TRISTRAM KENTON

Masterful Tristan

Andrew Clements salutes David Alden's brilliant staging of Wagner's Tristan And Isolde at the Coliseum

THE ENGLISH National Opera's new staging of Tristan And Isolde is the finest, most serious and considered piece of opera-making to come out of London's Coliseum in the past three years. The partnership of director David Alden and conductor Mark Elder produced some of the most striking productions of the Powerhouse years in the eighties and now, brought together again by the new regime, they have come up with a reading of the most dramatically problematic of all Wagner's masterpieces that answers almost every question that could be asked of it.

The linchpin of the success is Elder's account of the score; he sets the standard for the long evening with an account of the prelude that is profound, deeply eloquent and yet marvellously flexible, and goes on to pace every section with the same care and searching intelligence.

Elder's concern for the singers, the space he allows them and the dramatic shape he imposes on each act are all models of operatic communication. With such firm musical support, Elizabeth Connell's fresh, unconventional Isolde can establish herself from her very first proud, resentful lines; there may not be the massive surge of vocal power of a singer in the great Wagnerian tradition, but instead there is a care with shading, and with a precise weighting of words and phrases that delivers every detail of the text.

It's singing that often looks back to Wagner's forebears, to the world of early German opera from which he developed his language, but still makes the final *Liebestod* as touching and conclusive, if not as overwhelming as could be wished for. George Gryn's shambling Tristan is much more rough and ready; his sound is not very attractive, but it is thoroughly effective.

On the stage, discipline is all; Alden's direction never wastes a gesture. Ian MacNeil's designs furnish the first two acts with a threatening, brick wall patched with stucco and a reflective metallic sheen, with just a hint of the sea in the first act when part of the wall rises to reveal a ship's wheel and a scrap of rigging. The third act, when the opera has abandoned reality, is played out on a bare stage, wonderfully lit by Wolfgang Goebbel.

This *Tristan and Isolde* are wrapped in their own private worlds of feeling, as if the love that is re-leased by the elixir is much more about self-discovery than mutual devotion. They sing their climactic love duet as far apart physically as the stage will allow, and in the third act, all the protagonists move in their individual orbits around the dying Tristan, oblivious of each other.

It is a bleak, superbly realised ending, and like every detail in this production the clear result of meticulous care and thought.

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French opera house reopens

AFTER 18 months of silence, the Paris Opera house is about to burst back into life after a £20 million renovation.

Known as the Palais Garnier after its 19th century architect, the house reopens officially on March 1, with a concert performance of Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, writes Paul Webster.

The return of lyric performances to the 126-year-old building will overturn a Socialist government decision to separate ballet and opera, with the latter being restricted to the Bastille theatre, opened in 1989.

Its reopening has taken on a special significance after fire destroyed the Penice opera house in Venice; the increasing concern about the safety of the Bolshoi theatre, and the closure of Covent Garden for renovation.

Apart from the installation of computer-controlled technology for stage machinery, air-conditioning and new safety techniques, interior renovation has meticulously respected Charles Garnier's original plans.

But purists who hoped that Marc Chagall's 1964 ceiling would be taken down will be disappointed. Philippe Douste-Blazy, France's culture minister, said: "It has become part of the Opera tradition."

Rallying cry from a troubadour

Jackson Browne's music comes with a political conscience. Interview by Richard Williams

HE WAS the golden boy of the golden age of West Coast rock, the epitome of the seventies singer-songwriter, the sensitive troubadour whose output ranged from the political to the personal, reflecting a concern for the environment and US foreign policy alongside encoded references to an eventful love-life that stretched from Nico to Daryl Hannah. Inevitably, Jackson Browne's position in today's firmament is less certain. He isn't dead, so he doesn't have the mystique of Tim Buckley or Tim Hardin. He isn't a living hero to a new generation, like Neil Young. He hasn't veered off into painting, like Joni Mitchell. On the other hand, unlike his friends Crosby, Stills and Nash, he can still turn the stirrings of creative thought into worthwhile music.

Browne, whose career began 30 years ago, comes from the fortunate generation of rock musicians who won their platinum discs and their mansions in the Hollywood Hills without needing to make any great display of ambition. The world was expanding, the audience was exploding, and success came to these musicians as a reward for doing exactly what they wanted to do. If their record company had a marketing department, they didn't need to know where to find it. Some of them are dead now, others are moribund. Browne is one of the few to remain on speaking terms with his original talent, capable every two or three years of generating a bunch of new songs that can remind his old listeners of the power of Late For The Sky, The Pretender and In The Shape Of A Heart to shed light on the realities of their own lives.

On tour, no 47-year-old exudes more of a sense of unspilt freshness; physically and vocally he appears unchanged from the pretty, shiny-haired boy who opened for Laura Nyro at the Queen Elizabeth Hall in London in 1972, alone with his guitar and the romantic songs from his debut album, a record that helped define the 'coming wave' of West Coast rock.

His new record, *Looking East*, is in no sense a radical departure from its 10 predecessors. There are snatches of the rock, snippets of So-Cal reggae, harmonies glowing like a Malibu sunset, a palette of intelligent guitar and keyboard textures, and a lot of wry, boy-man intelligence in lyrics that deal with the American condition all the way from the barrio to the White House. "I suppose there are some themes running through it," he replied when I asked what had been his preoccupations at the time he wrote the songs. It's hard to encapsulate.

For all the straightforward ranting of a song called *Information Wars* ("In the flickering light and the comforting glow/You get the world every night as a TV show/The latest spin on the shit we're in, blow by blow/And the more you watch the less you know"), it's possible to detect a change of focus from the political to the personal, even in songs ostensibly dealing with issues rather than emotions. The battle lines no longer seem as clear in the mind of a man long active in a variety of campaigns, who once committed virtu-

ally a whole album — 1986's *Lives In The Balance* — to an attack on US foreign policy in the Reagan-Bush years.

"As far as activism goes," he says, "I've always felt like a foot soldier. Music has its place in any kind of struggle, as a rallying cry. But it's not a vanguard thing. You don't write a song and expect millions of people to turn up. Songs have to connect with something that people are already dealing with."

The problem now is that the US government has become expert in what Noam Chomsky calls "the manufacture of consent": "A great many people tried to keep the United States from invading Nicaragua as they had in Panama and Grenada. In the Pentagon, they got so much opposition to a war in Nicaragua that now they just don't tell you about the next one until it's happened and they've brought it to you with a designer name: Desert Storm. They're getting better and better at presenting their agenda to the American people."

Many of the parameters of his job have changed, and it is not always easy to adjust to the new realities. "I know that when my record company asks me to go on a morning TV show, they're thinking, 'That's where his audience is. They've got kids, they're awake giving them the Pop Tarts and orange juice and putting them on the school bus.' I have no idea if that's true. I certainly don't think that by going on *Good Morning America* I've sold any more records. I try to update, because you have to reach an audience which is constantly renewing itself. I think my records are more lyric-oriented than most of the music out there. That's something that was more prevalent in the seventies. But lots of other people do that now, too."

"I could be doing other things at this point," he says. "But I love making music. It still does the same thing for me, which is to clarify things and help me take my bearings. It's still as big a challenge to get to the heart of the matter and find out what's going on inside me and in the world. And it's a pleasure being with the people you get to work with."

In the early eighties he could sell five million copies of an album. Those days are gone, but it is hard to leave the expectations behind. "I don't expect to sell that many now, but I'd like to sell more than I do. It's not the measuring stick for me, although I recognise that with *Lives In The Balance* I would like to have reached a lot more people because I was trying to add my voice to a chorus and change US policy. If that had sold five million records, it would have been wonderful. In fact it didn't sell very many."



Jackson Browne: from politics to the personal
PHOTOGRAPH: MIA HARRIS

Science for the uninitiated

Tim Radford
A Bedside Nature: Genius and Eccentricity in Science 1869-1953 Edited by Walter Gratzler Macmillan Magazines 280pp £19.95

NATURE is a magazine with a long history and a quite unassailable position as the world's most distinguished science journal. In this bedside compilation, Walter Gratzler demonstrates something quite unexpected. It could also be one of the world's most diverting journals. Open at random. Page 80 has the tail-end of the calculation of a complex new algorithm for determining the day of the week for any known calendar date. "I am not a rapid computer myself," says the author, "and as I find my average time for doing any such question is 20 seconds, I have little doubt that a rapid computer would not need 15". The algorithm, which would take most people 20 minutes to remember, let alone operate, is signed by Lewis Carroll. Immediately after

comes a short announcement of the death of Alexander Borodin, professor of chemistry at the Medico-Surgical Academy at St Petersburg, and, of course, even better known as a composer. This is followed by a brisk account of the proposals of Monsieur Araudeau for a double postal tube, one metre wide, running between Dover and Calais. Along each tube would run a little train of 10 to 15 wagons on rails driven by "compressed and rarefied air, actuating a piston". A certain P G Tait devotes much thought to the physics of golf; there is a short news report about plans by Dr Fridtjof Nansen, of the Bergen Museum, to cross the interior of Greenland on skis ("viz. the snow runners found so advantageous during the last Nordenskjöld expedition across that continent.") And, in the last column on page 81, there is Thomas Henry Huxley taking a meat cleaver to the quivering carcass of the Duke of Argyll: "As fast as old misrepresentations are refuted," he writes, "new ones are evolved out of the inexhaustible inac-

curacy of his Grace's imagination." All this treasure is on two consecutive pages of a work which opens with an editorial by Darwin's bulldog, Huxley, and closes with a letter on the molecular structure of nucleic acids, by J D Watson and F H Crick, which contains the immortal understatement: "It has not escaped our notice that the specific pairing we have postulated immediately suggests a possible copying mechanism for the genetic material." In between, there are extraordinary jewels. Someone describes the first Remington type-writing machine; someone else pondering the chemistry of human cremation. H G Wells pops up again and again, directly or indirectly, opining here on land transport, there on racist nonsense. There is a report of an exhibition of bed bingings made from Madagascar spiders' silk by the Antananarivo Technical School. Ernest Rutherford weighs in on the structure of the atom. Francis Galton sits for his portrait twice and each time counts the number of brush strokes ("It made me wonder whether

painters had mastered the art of getting the maximum result from their labour"). Frederick Soddy laments that the education system favours learning of the classics, but not of science. There is a 1938 reprint from a German journal warning that science represents the key position from which "Intellectual Judaism can always regain a significant influence on all spheres of national life". So this Jewish spirit should be purged. French prisoners of war in Oflag XVIIA founded their own University of Edelbach and did a thorough geological examination of the 400-metre-square region inside the barbed wire, and of course, under it. Nature is, of course, still in business, more widely circulated than ever. It is not, however, more widely read by ordinary mortals, being mostly incomprehensible. A pity: in the very first extract, Huxley has someone say: "The priests of Science must consent to use the vernacular, before they will ever make a profound impression upon the heart of humanity." There is a foreword by that votary of the vernacular, Stephen Jay Gould. He thinks Professor Gratzler's handiwork is terrific too.

Lonely traveller

John Sturrock
Zola: A Life by Frederick Brown Macmillan 888pp £25

E MILE ZOLA believed that hard work was the answer; it had saved him and it would save society. His next to last book was called, all too simply, *Travail*, and was meant for a novel, the third of four planned to serve as progressive "gospels" for the new 20th century. *Travail* is today defunct both as fiction and as a sermon. It came from the side of Zola we forget about, from the spiritual dictator who hardly seems to fit with the profane realist glorying in the output of what his *bleus-jeans* critics called "putrid literature". This wasn't a description that caused Zola any grief because rottenness is what the best of his novels (*Germinal*, *Nana*) are about. His big theme — a topical one in France in the years of his literary prime — is that of degeneration. Born in 1840, he came to believe that the national stock was running morally and physically down, and many of his plots illustrate this concern, tracking the fortunes of a single family. These are the Rougon-Macquarts, a demonic brood who, in the 20 novels in which they appear, display all the grosser appetites of the age.

The Rougon-Macquarts are dragged fatally down by the *déte humaine*, or a congenital flaw that is Zola's medical textbook version of Original Sin. Yet the novel cycle also has its nobler episodes and its unlikely altruists, illustrating that Zola was not looking exclusively on the black side. And it is one of the successes of Frederick Brown's new biography that he brings both Zolas, the virtuoso of prose and the social visionary, so seamlessly together. Zola wasn't so much a contradictory figure, as one who was often misleading (or else misled) when he said what his intentions were as a novelist. He was a Romantic who couldn't bear to be thought of as

one. Romanticism was limp, dreary, obsolete; he, in contrast, would be tough, factual, modern, a Naturalist writer and, as such, the implacable servant of the "truth". The truth necessarily meant all the terrible things that go on in society which are normally kept from view, and because the Naturalist had to be "scientific", in keeping with the times he lived in, he would show these things without comment, as if his silence were a further gauge of their authenticity. This doctrine meant that Zola — until he later relented and turned gossipeller — could not be the overtly moral or political novelist that his master in fiction, Balzac, had been: Balzac thought that a degenerate France needed a king and the church; Zola thought that it was well rid of the one and science would inevitably rid it of the other. He was a positivist in his philosophy and a Republican in his politics.

But to stay with any one party was unthinkable. Zola travelled alone. Brown quotes

from the robust journalism that Zola wrote during his life. After the vicious suppression of the Paris Commune in 1871 Zola reported from Versailles on the parliamentary proceedings of the incipient Third Republic. He did so with contempt at their dishonesty and their ignorance. If Zola belonged anywhere politically it was on the left, but over the years the left had been just as rough in denouncing his novels as the right. Zola damned the lot of them. A familiar intellectual position: except that Zola seemed to think that he should have the influence and publicity that went to the politicians. By 1879, eight years into the new régime, he was declaring that "The Republic will live or the Republic will not live depending on whether it accepts or rejects our method. The Republic will be naturalist, or not be at all — an embarrassing piece of megalomania. And 20 years later, when he became a world hero for his intervention — the front-page blast known as *J'Accuse* — on behalf of the unjustly convicted Captain Dreyfus, there was a telling failure to separate the fate of the unfortunate Jewish officer from his own. "May my works perish if Dreyfus is not innocent." Zola did well by Dreyfus (and Dreyfus did well by Zola) enabling him to play a role Brown shows him as having played throughout his life: of self-righteous rescuer of the hard done-by. The first was his own father, a Venice-born engineer who was robbed posthumously of both money and prestige by the authorities of Aix-en-Provence, until his famous son won a belated recognition for him. His father's death when he was only seven meant that Zola and his mother lived in poverty for years in Paris. When he finally had money he bought land and a house in Médan, and lived the life of a vulgar, riverine bourgeois, forever building on extra rooms and then overfurnishing them (and himself: his waist measurement went up to 45 inches).

ZOLA DIED in 1902, at 62, poisoned by carbon monoxide escaping from a blocked flue. Many at the time thought it was murder, that the flue had been tampered with by anti-Dreyfusards. It's a possibility: the crime on his death-bed in 1927. But if myth attaches to Zola's death, his life was the reverse of mythical. It was nothing but travail. He wrote four pages every day, with few crossings out; and before he began a novel, he informed himself in the way a "scientist" should. He went to places he meant to write about — down a coal-mine before starting on *Germinal* — or talked to those who had been there. He wouldn't let up because he was afraid he would lapse into indolence, the same degenerative flaw that dogged the Rougon-Macquarts. Behind his industry there lay, by his own account, chronic self-doubt. He alternated between the certainty that he was a genius and the other certainty that he was nothing. Frederick Brown gives us Zola in full, the vociferous public man and the neurotic, inhibited private one. Eight hundred pages are a lot, but then Zola didn't stint when he wrote, so his biographer can say in his defence that he could but be true to his subject.



ILLUSTRATION: C. LEANDRE, FROM THE COMIC MAGAZINE LE RIRE, 1887

Removed from the real world

Laura Tennant
The Insult by Rupert Thomson Bloomsbury 416pp £15.99

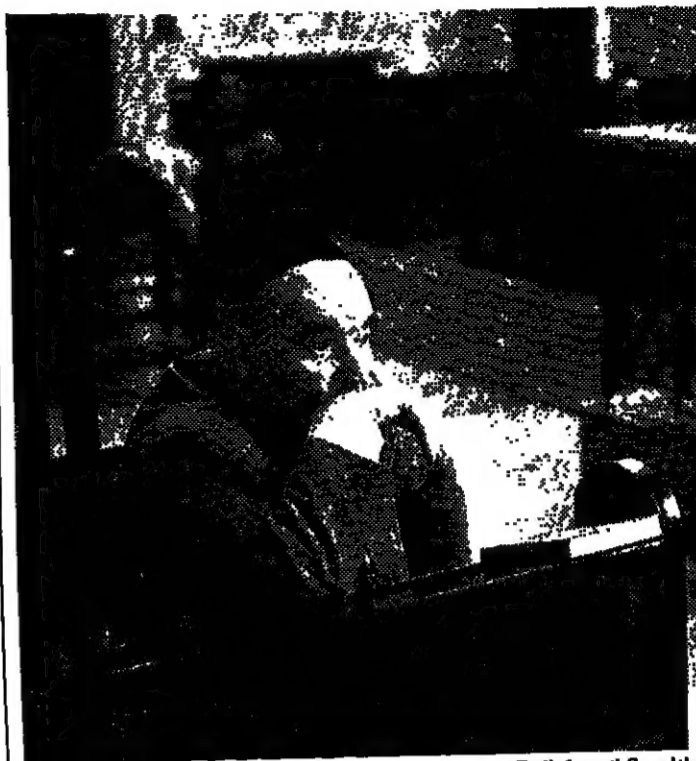
MAGINATION isn't a word much used these days, with regard to novelists. We tend to associate it with Romanticism, or the fairy dusting of magic realism, but certainly not with harsh contemporary concerns. Serious novelists, the wisdom goes, have to situate their books in the real world. Rupert Thomson possesses a powerful creative talent which frees him from such constraints. He has an extraordinary capacity to construct a parallel universe — tantalisingly reminiscent of our own while being governed, as it were, by slightly different rules. The result is a form of hyper-realism, an intensity of gaze which gives his recreated worlds a shocking freshness. Place has been central to all Thomson's novels but they are also disconcertingly unstable and non-specific. *Dreams of Leaving*, his first book, imagines a village in England as a miniature cut off from all contact with the outside world: The Five Gates Of Hell takes place in a fictional city, in what we guess to be America, which specialises in funeral parlours; and *Air And Fire* gives a surreal twist to 19th-century Mexico. Reading them, the lack of any fixed geographical reference points makes you uncertain of your moral standpoint. Thomson also tends to create despicable characters, only to imbue them with an emotional complexity, making a gift response impossible. The Insult, we gather, is set in some bleak East European city and later in the country's primitive hinterland. Its hero, Blom, is blinded in a shooting but then miraculously recovers his sight and falls in love with the elusive Nina. When Nina disappears he embarks on a mission to find her, but instead becomes the unwilling recipient of a tale of intergenerational incest and murder, which is confessed to him by the owner of a hotel, Mrs Helmann, in Nina's home village. Stories of absence, from Nina's disappearance to Blom's missing sight, fill these pages and find an echo in our nagging sense that the entire book is a hallucination on the part of the hospitalised Blom. The writing, as ever with Thomson, is wonderful, the conclusions most uncomfortable.

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The lost tribe of Europe

Julia Pascal
Vanishing Diaspora: the Jews in Europe Since 1945 by Bernard Wasserstein Hamish Hamilton 332pp £20

THIS book is an obituary for modern European Jewry. Bernard Wasserstein suggests that what the Nazis began in 1933 continues today as a suicidal journey towards the oblivion of assimilation. He believes intermarriage and apathy will soon reduce Jews to an exotic memory of a lost tribe, like the American Indians. Although his thesis is not original, this social and political modern history of post-war European diaspora Jewry is, surprisingly, it is the first such study to appear in print. Born in London in 1948, Wasserstein traces his generation's experience across European borders. His viewpoint is secular, liberal and, occasionally, healthily angry. *Vanishing Diaspora* sometimes reads like a thriller. Why, after Auschwitz, does the Jewish Question refuse to disappear? Although he poses the question, Wasserstein never fully answers it, and, oddly enough at the end of Chapter Five (*Facing The Past*), accuses modern Jewry of "an almost necrophobic obsession with the Holocaust". This statement denies Bruno Bettelheim's assertion that those who cannot bury their dead re-



Warsaw worship: few Jews survived German and Polish anti-Semitism

main petrified with unresolved grief. The overall effect of Wasserstein's examination shows how awkwardly most of Europe dealt with the Nazi past. British attitudes are as complex as those of Britain's Nazi-occupied neighbours. Churchill

can post-Holocaust Poland, without its Jews, remain one of the most anti-Semitic of European nation states? Wasserstein blames the Church for erecting Catholic memorials in Auschwitz and shows how anti-Semitism was encouraged by the warring institutions of the Catholic church and the Communist ruling party. He also acknowledges the complexity of modern Poland and ultimately refuses to see the country merely in terms of dual anti-Semitic powers, quoting the Polish Catholic Jerzy Turowicz's sensitive message to his Church: "Auschwitz represents for the Jews . . . the symbol of the passivity of other nations in the face of their destruction." Left and right also appear as anti-semitic partners in France. Nearly 30 years later, Wasserstein reveals a modern Republic glorying in its image as a bastion of tolerance and secular revolutionary values while functioning as a centralised, still-Catholic imperial power. François Mitterrand's death certainly incarnates the difference between rhetoric and reality. It was only while dying of cancer that he confessed his fascist past. Mitterrand's extraordinary funeral reinforced this schizophrenia. The self-proclaimed agnostic arranged for two simultaneous funeral masses. On television the French watched the Jewish Archbishop of Paris, Monsignor Lustiger (converted to Catholicism as a child in hiding), celebrate the journey of Mitterrand's sanctified soul to paradise.

Thrillers

Chris Pettit
Dome Deal, by Lee Standiford (Macmillan, £16.99)
FLORIDA must boast more classy crime writers per square mile than anywhere on earth. Here's another, writing that tight, shrunken, slightly illiterate prose in the manner of Elmore Leonard; a sure sign that the author is a professor of creative writing. One flaw aside — overlong mourning sequence when the reader knows the hero's wife is still alive — and silly Spillane-like names apart (*Deal, Straight*), this pushes the right buttons, jazzing up a routine plot — civic corruption, property and baseball scam — with smart vernacular, violence with relish and plenty of stylish attitude.
Truth, by Patrick Dillon (Michael Joseph, £15.99)
ROGUE copper determines to nail his man for murder, by forging his confession, after losing him on a previous charge involving a senseless thrill killing of a tramp. This try-hard first novel has some of the late Derek Raymond's preoccupations — violence and the absurd, obsessive revenge, dodgy property deals, class counter-jumping. London as rat run, metropolitan anomie — but lacks his reventant's imagination and visionary sadism.

Plot Twist, by Eric Adams (Hodder & Stoughton, £16.99)
FAIR premise, sledge-hammer irony, and a case of the bitter bit when an unscrupulous true criminologist has his son kidnapped and suffers heavy privacy invasion. The reason note demands his severed hands for little Timmy's safety, but the neatness of the conceit falters and the novice novelist's inexperience shows — silliness and false suspense the result.
The Serpent's Tail, by Martin Dillon (RCB, £8.99)
DILLON, known for gritty documentary books on the Northern Ireland conflict, uses material from his *The Dirty War* for a first novel with a detailed grasp of the mind-boggling things done in the name of secrecy, here an ingenious sting pulled off by British intelligence in 1974 at the expense of the Provisionals. Two youths turned by the security forces are used to infiltrate the IRA and plant disinformation to discredit the hardline leadership.
The Day of Wrath, by Daniel Easternman (HarperCollins, £16.99)
EAST meets West when leading Muslims at a Dublin conference get kidnapped by Christian fundamentalists whose dead leader, known from 1993's world headlines, is found still alive and twice as barking. A routine chase is enlivened by rivaries and unpredictable alliances.

Collision of freedoms

Roy Hattersley
The Age of Rights by Norberto Bobbio Polity 168pp £45 hbk £12.95 pbk

THIS is no doubt about the basic principle which dominates the essays that make up *The Age of Rights*. It is asserted time after time in the text. "The fundamental problem concerning human rights today is not so much how to justify them but how to protect them." That problem, Norberto Bobbio insists, is "political not philosophical". However, he still plays the philosophical game. Is it, he asks, possible to define those freedoms which, having been morally and intellectually justified, should be universally accepted and respected? He comes to what, at first, seems a gloomy conclusion. There are so many ways of defining "inalienable rights" and so many theories of how they are derived, that it is virtually impossible to create an objective test against which the conduct of all governments should be measured. But do not despair. The impossibility of setting out a cogent and convincing list of essential freedoms does not prevent the world from becoming a better place. "It cannot be said that human rights were much respected during the period when the learned all agreed that they had found an irrefutable argument for their defence." In any case, "the strongest argument presented by

All our yesterdays

J G Ballard
The Day Before Yesterday: Five Million Years of Human History by Colin Tudge Cape 380pp £18.99

reactionaries in all countries against human rights . . . is not their foundations, but their impracticability". So we have a professor of philosophy arguing that theoretical speculation is less important than practical action, promotion, monitoring and guarantee. But some of the conceptual problems remain and practice can only be improved by understanding the theory. It is "safeguards within the state" which are the main feature of the current phase. "Safeguards against the state" are more difficult to achieve "without an international jurisdiction able to impose itself on national jurisdictions". Until that exists, the British government will be able to reject the adjudication of the European Court of Human Rights. It is the obsession with independence that impedes supra-national supervision of the way in which civil rights are protected. So, as far as a universal code of rights is concerned, the 19th century gave with one hand and took away with the other. It was also the age of enlightenment which complicated the debate with the belated discovery that there are positive as well as negative freedoms. If (with Kant) we believe that the only inalienable right is freedom, and (like Hobbes and Spinoza) we define that ideal condition as the absence of restraint, all the rights arguments fall neatly into place. But once we begin to talk about "freedom to" as well as "freedom from", the issue becomes more complicated. For freedoms collide. In short, helping the poor penalises the rich. That creates a major dilemma for radical politicians who want to win elections in an affluent society. There will not be a genuine radical revival in Britain until those who claim to be in the vanguard of such movements take an interest in the principles by which their conduct should be guided.

for raising the physiological tempo and focusing the mind at times of danger. The ability to make weapons and thus magnify the power of their aggressive drives laid down the blueprint for the species who followed. *Homo habilis*, "handy man" and the oldest member of the genus *Homo*, was a primitive toolmaker, fashioning clubs and axe-heads. This compact between brain and hand Tudge sees as perhaps the most significant feedback loop in the lifetime of our planet. A rapid acceleration of brain capacity took place, and *Homo sapiens*, the first modern man, appeared in Africa some 120,000 years ago and began his migration into Europe and Asia. By the end of the Pleistocene, roughly 8000BC, he had colonised most of the world's great land masses. But our brains had evolved to deal with the outside world, and have not been selected, Tudge emphasises, to cope with introspection, as our failure to understand our own consciousness confirms. Lastly, Tudge asks, what are the chances of *Homo sapiens* lasting another million years? Over-population, he maintains, is still our biggest threat, but material acquisitiveness may be even more dangerous. The necessary plundering of the Earth's resources may lead to devastating climatic changes. A desperate rethinking needs to take place, Tudge believes, or the planet may suffer immense damage thousands of years into the future. But whether human beings, who have harnessed fire and flown to the Moon, can also tell the real time is open to serious doubt.

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30 LEISURE

Chess Leonard Barden

POOR starts and nervous finishes are the bane of tournament players. Boris Spassky used to lose first rounds, blaming his "slow emotions", until he cured himself by playing clock exhibitions against candidate masters a few days beforehand.

A final-round defeat in a title or qualifying event can trigger the nervous-finish syndrome, as happened to Bronstein in the 1958 Interzonal or to Hubner in his 1971 match with Petrosian. And if I could have stopped British championships at chosen times between rounds six and 10, I would have had three outright titles instead of just one shared.

Michael Adams displayed a new and mysterious chess disease recently at Zurich, Groningen and the Hoogovens tournament in Wijk-aan-Zee. Collapsing with losses in mid-tournament, he suddenly revived with a series of wins. Find a cure, Michael, and you won't have to worry about too few invitations.

Adams-Dreev, Wijk 1996, French 3 Nd2

1 e4 e6 2 d4 d5 3 Nd2 c5 4 exd5 Qxd5 5 Ng3 cxd4 6 Bc4 Qd6 7 0-0 Nf6 8 Nc3 Ne6 9 Nxd4 Nxd4 10 Nxd4 a6 11 Re1 Qc7 12 Bb3 Bd6 13 Nf5 Bxb2+ 14 Kh1 0-0 15 Nxc7 Apparently spectacular, but this is still well-trodden ground. If Kxg7 16 g3 Bxg3 17 Rg1 favours White.

Rd8 16 Qf3 Kxg7 17 Bh6+ Kg6 Kxh6? loses to 18 Qxh6+ Kh5 19 Re3. 18 c3 Nd5 19 Rad1! The game really starts, and effectively finishes, with this improvement on the book 19 Bc1.

White's attack is worth more than a single piece. Adams may well have a reputation for homespun theory, but he's the world's leading expert on the white side of the 3 Nd2 c5 French.

If Kxh6 20 Bxd5 Bxd5 21 Rxd5 exd5 22 Qf6+ Kh5 23 g3 and Re5+ wins. 20 Bc1 Bd6 21 Bxd5 exd5 22 Rxd5 Bd7 23 Qh3 Bf8 24 Re3 Kg7 25 Rg3+ Kh8 26 Qh4 Bc6 27 Bb4 Be7 28 Bxc7 Re8. If Bxh4 29 Be5+ mates.

Adams-Hubner, Wijk 1996, Sicilian 2 c3

1 e4 c5 2 c3 An English speciality, whose secrets will be revealed later this year in a new book by Murray Chandler. d5 3 exd5 Qxd5 4 d4 Nf6 5 Nf3 Bg4 6 Nbd2 Nc6 7 Be4! A new concept in place of 7 dxc5 or 7 Be2. White's K-side pawns are wrecked, but he has a big lead in development.

Bxc3 8 gxf3 Qg5? Qd6 looks better. As played, White gains more time by harassing the Q. Qe4 Qf5 10 Qe2 e6 11 Ng3 Qh3 12 d5 Nd8 13 Bb5+ Trapping the BK in the centre. Nd7 14 Bf4 a6 15 Bxd7+ Kxd7 16 0-0-0 Ke8 17 Rhe1 Be7 18 d6 Bf6 19 d7+ Kb8 20 Rd5! More attacking options on the fifth rank.

g6 21 Bd6+ Kg6 22 Nh5 Bg7 If gxh5 23 Rg1+ Bg7 24 Rf6. 23 Rxc5 Ne6 24 Rxc6! bxc6 25 Qxa6! Black's game is hopeless with a boxed K-side and emigrant queen, and Adams finishes in style. Bh6+ 26 f4 Rd8 27 Qc8 Qh4 28 Be7 Rf8 29 d8Q Qxh5 30 Qxf8+ Bxf8 31 Bd6 Re8. If Kg7 32 Be5+ f6 33 Qd7+ wins.

No 2409

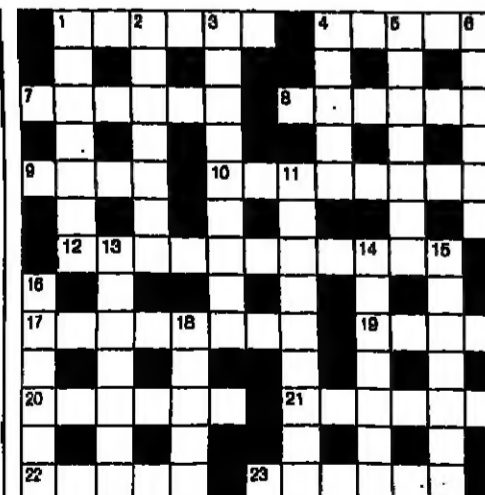


White mates in three, against any defence (by A Mossiwill, 1973). This can be hard to crack, but for a clue think back to our Christmas puzzle.

No 2408: 1 Nc3 (threats 2 Rd4, Nd5 or Ne2) Kxe2 2 Rd5. Traps are 1 Re7? Qb2 or 1 Re5? Qh8 or 1 Nd4? Nd2.

Quick crossword no. 302

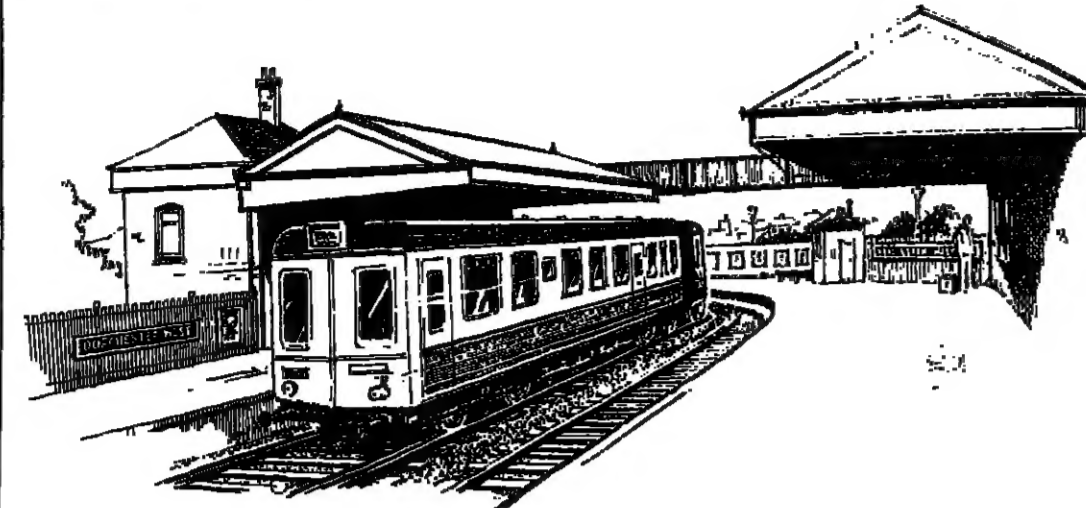
- Across: 1 Conflict (6), 4 Viper (5), 7 Follow (6), 8 Lottery (6), 9 Smear - to obscure (4), 10 Carnegie (6), 12 Tame (11), 17 Restricted (8), 19 Ravarberate (4), 20 Bower (6), 21 Mean (6), 22 Succeed (5), 23 Heavy, starchy food (6).



- Down: 1 Foul (7), 2 Platform (7), 3 Lodge member (9), 4 Accumulate (5), 5 Loos (7), 6 Danced - and swam (8), 11 Sea spray (9), 13 Large volume - of public transport? (7), 14 Warded off (7), 15 Intensity (7).

Lest week's solution. A 10x10 crossword grid with filled-in letters forming words like HANDICAP, HAVEN, PAVILION, etc.

A pleasant train of thought



Colin Luckhurst

SOME years ago BBC television broadcast a series of programmes on Sunday evenings featuring some of the great railway journeys of the world. I particularly remember Michael Frayn travelling the long desert width of Australia, with camels running from the track and kicking up clouds of red dust in the blistering heat as the train headed for Perth.

There were rides on the Orient Express and the Trans-Siberian, as well as the Canadian Pacific Railway. They all made good travel documentaries, spiced up by personalities who narrated them.

At a rather more modest level, I derived my own pleasure from a railway journey from the station at Bristol Temple Meads (where evidence remains of Isambard Kingdom Brunel's original vision) to Dorchester West.

A return costs only £16 and, given the historic tract of south-west England through which the line passes, it's not bad value, especially if - a rare treat this - it actually sticks to the published timetable.

The view from the train of Limpley Stoke Valley, between Bath and Bradford-on-Avon, where the

railtrack runs parallel with both the Avon river and the Kennet and Avon Canal, is as pleasant as any in rural England.

No wonder Chris Patten, the governor of Hong Kong, has a home there (his residency dates from before he lost his seat in Bath at the last general election).

But the start of that section is now changed for ever by the massive roadworks which will one day sweep across the water meadows to the east of Bath.

I was a member of the planning committee of Bath city council when the proposal went through the consultative procedures in the late 1980s.

With growing traffic volumes and the misery of the residents of Bath-easton it was difficult to imagine an alternative. But the brutal gash of the earthworks, bitterly fought by the army of protesters (who have since moved on to Newbury via the M3) has certainly ruined that stretch of countryside.

Just before the valley, the train slides through Bath, the elegant Georgian terraces of which can be admired from one's carriage as it passes by.

There are some second world war fortifications beside the track, including a tank trap and machine gun block-house built to fight an invasion force landing on the Dorset coast.

That particular threat of invasion has long passed, of course, but the Ministry of Defence keeps its hand in by reserving to this day large stretches of coast near Lulworth for the military to play war games.

THESE is just a snaffle of an older England available on this route, including some gracious stone buildings and evidence of long-term harmonious settlement of the land.

Just past Maiden Newton there are some second world war fortifications beside the track, including a tank trap and machine gun block-house built to fight an invasion force landing on the Dorset coast.

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GUARDIAN WEEKLY February 25 1996

Football FA Cup fifth round: Manchester United 2 Manchester City 1

Penalty leaves Ball seething

David Lacey

MANCHESTER United by a neck. Their progress to a third successive FA Cup final is starting to look inexorable if not inevitable. On Sunday fate first helped them to beat Manchester City with the aid of a harshly judged penalty, and then gave them a highly winnable quarter-final at home to Southampton or Swinlon.

Should United go on to win the Cup twice in three seasons, and a record ninth time in all, the sky blue flag of Manchester will no doubt be hoping that their celebratory toasts are coupled with the name of Alan Wilkie.

City supporters will always argue that the referee turned this tie with the penalty decision that enabled United to draw level shortly before half-time after they had fallen behind to an early goal from Rösler.

That would be putting it too simply, for United were beginning to get a grip on the play before that moment and would in all probability have dominated the second half in the way they did even if the penalty had not happened.

But was outstanding in midfield, and the growing influence on the flanks of Sharpe and Phillip Neville ultimately proved decisive.

There can, however, be little doubt that luck smiled on United at a crucial moment. In the 38th minute, following a corner on the left from Giggs, Keane's header was cleared off the line by a combination of Inmel and Brown. Another corner followed, and then the penalty.

This time Giggs swung the ball across too hard and high for anyone to goalmouth to reach it. Frontzack and Cantona jumped together as a matter of routine but



Fever pitch... Quinn and Butt battle it out at Old Trafford

made only brief contact with one another. In the next instant, however, Wilkie was pointing to the penalty spot. Both teams appeared baffled, Old Trafford could not believe its good fortune, and Cantona sent himself the wrong way with his kick.

"Eric said he was pulled round the neck," said Alex Ferguson, the United manager. "It's always a risk if you pull players around the neck." In fact Wilkie gave this as the reason for his decision.

Naturally, being Alan Ball, the losing manager was rather more cautious on the subject. "Would he have given it at the other end?" he asked. "No?" Exactly.

In the opening half-hour United were unable to get to grips with City's close-passing game and whenever Kinkladze gained possession he was a matter of routine but

During this period Bruce and Palister looked vulnerable in United's defence. Keane and Butt, moreover, were being upstaged in midfield by Lomas and Brown while Clough's little passes kept City's rhythm consistent.

After 11 minutes City went ahead with a goal cleverly conceived and executed. Kinkladze turned with the ball and in the same movement released it low through a square United defence.

Rösler bore down on the advancing Schmeichel and then chipped him from just inside the penalty area. The goalkeeper managed to get a hand to the ball, but could not keep it out.

Midway through the first half Ferguson switched his wings, a crucial move for Sharpe and Giggs made better headway on opposite flanks. City were still worrying United with the accuracy of their passing but were steadily ceding territory and possession before the penalty.

The second half saw much less of Kinkladze and practically nothing of Clough. United, moreover, played with the patience of a team who suspected the afternoon would eventually be theirs.

With 13 minutes remaining, Palister found Giggs on the left and he released Neville for his scorching newspaper attack on Chelsea's Dutch import Ruud Gullit and other foreign players, whom he branded "squealers". The Welsh international has been docked an astonishing £26,250 in three years by the FA for his disciplinary excesses.

On the field, Leeds defeated Bolton 1-0 in the fourth round of the FA Cup, and in the replays Port Vale knocked out holders Everton 2-1, Grimsby Town thrashed West Ham 3-0 while Manchester City beat Coventry 2-1. The first leg of the Coca-Cola Cup semi-final between Arsenal and Aston Villa ended in a 2-2 draw.

Worth agreed, "a blow to the pride. We expected to beat New Zealand and we didn't."

England's reply was tripped up on leaving the blocks when Atherton was bowled in Dion Nash's first over. The England captain momentarily caused astonishment among the 20,000 crowd by refusing to leave his crease with his leg ball lying on the ground, but he soon cottoned on to the fact that he was staying put to act as a runner for Hick, who had hurt his left hamstring chasing a ball around the boundary.

While Hick was swatting the ball to all parts, victory was always possible. But Neil Fairbrother called for a single, Atherton hesitated when he saw Roger Twose dive to stop at cover, and by the time England's captain set off again it was too late. He - or rather Hick - was run out by a couple of feet on 85. And with the rest of the batting subsiding, that was just about that.

In other games, Zimbabwe (151-9) lost to the West Indies by six wickets; South Africa (321-2) defeated United Arab Emirates (152-8) by 169 runs; New Zealand (307-8) beat Holland (188-7) by 119 runs, and Kenya (199-6) went down to India by 7 wickets. Australia forfeited their match against Sri Lanka.

Defeat, however, was, as Illingworth's instincts and decided to bowl first. The result was a total of 239 for six - the highest made at the Motera Stadium in a one-day international on the notoriously slow pitch.

The result should make little difference to England's chances of reaching the quarter-finals and victories against the United Arab Emirates on Sunday - UAE lost by eight wickets - and Holland later this week will probably see them through.

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Sports Diary Shiv Sharma

Clampdown on drugs

THE NUMBER of drug tests carried out by the Football Association is set to go up by almost 100 per cent next season in a crackdown on substance abuse in the game. Just over 270 tests were carried out last season, four times that of 1994/95. This season the number will be 280 and next season it will be 500.

Huddersfield striker Craig Whittington has become the latest to join the list. He has been charged with misconduct by the association after a second drugs test for cannabinoids proved positive. The 25-year-old has been suspended by his club and given 14 days to respond to the FA charges.

The failed tests came in the space of 10 months and he faces the prospect of a lengthy ban after becoming the first player to test positive for banned substances on two separate occasions. Roger Stanislaus of Leyton Orient was banned for a year by the FA earlier this month for cocaine use and the club later sacked him.

"We recognise there is a drugs problem in society," said the FA chief executive, Graham Kelly, "and we are determined to stop it spreading into the game."

Another footballer falling foul of the FA was Vinnie Jones. The transfer-seeking Wimbledon midfielder was fined £2,000 for his scathing newspaper attack on Chelsea's Dutch import Ruud Gullit and other foreign players, whom he branded "squealers".

On the field, Leeds defeated Bolton 1-0 in the fourth round of the FA Cup, and in the replays Port Vale knocked out holders Everton 2-1, Grimsby Town thrashed West Ham 3-0 while Manchester City beat Coventry 2-1. The first leg of the Coca-Cola Cup semi-final between Arsenal and Aston Villa ended in a 2-2 draw.

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Cups and a Uefa Cup. He was voted Manager of the Year a record six times.

ROMANIAN soccer star Ilie Dumitrescu plans to take his application for a work permit to the European Court of Justice in an attempt to stay in England if the Department of Employment turns down his appeal this week. He applied for a new permit to enable to move from Tottenham Hotspur to West Ham but his application failed on the grounds that he had not played 75 per cent of his side's first-team games.

DEEP BLUE, the IBM computer, turned an interesting shade of pink with embarrassment after going down to Garry Kasparov in their \$400,000 chess match in Philadelphia. In the first contest between brain cells and silicon chips - organised to celebrate 50 years of computers - Kasparov, the 32-year-old world champion, won 4-2, with three wins and two draws to offset the machine's historic victory in the first game.

CRAIG FARRY shot a two-under-par round of 71 for 279 in Melbourne to win the Australian Masters for the third time in five years, finishing two strokes ahead of compatriot Bradley Hughes.

PICABO STREET of America captured her first world title for skiing - in the women's downhill - when she swept down the course at Sierra Nevada, Spain, in 1m 54.06sec. Olympic champion, Katja Seizinger of Germany took the silver medal in 1:54.63, ahead of Street's teammate Hilary Lindh.

THE INTERNATIONAL Hockey Federation has set up a five-member committee to investigate claims that the India v Malaysia match at last month's Olympic qualifying tournament in Barcelona was fixed. It will meet on March 2 and announce its decision the following day.

IT SOUNDED more like the blizzards playing havoc with electricity pylons than Manchesfield Town playing at home, carrying out a substitution, when this announcement was made: Power off and Coates on.

Football results

FA CUP: Fourth round: Shrewsbury 0 Liverpool 4. Fifth round: Huddersfield 2, Wimbledon 2, Ipswich 1, Aston Villa 3, Man Utd 2, Man City 1, Swindon 1, Southampton 1.

FA CHARLTON PREMIERSHIP: Chelsea 1, West Ham 2, Middlesbrough 1, Bolton 4, Shrewsbury 1, QPR 3. Leading positions: Newcastle (34-1), Wrexham 32, 2. Man Utd (26-5); 3. Liverpool (24-6); 4. Charlton (22-8); 5. Tottenham (22-7); 6. Reading (22-7); 7. Coventry (21-8); 8. Walsley (20-8); 9. Northampton (20-8); 10. Bournemouth (20-8); 11. Shrewsbury (20-8); 12. Ipswich (20-8); 13. Luton (20-8); 14. Barnsley (20-8); 15. Gillingham (20-8); 16. Torquay (20-8); 17. Southend (20-8); 18. Exeter (20-8); 19. Notts County (20-8); 20. Blackpool (20-8); 21. Scunthorpe (20-8); 22. Doncaster (20-8); 23. Cardiff (20-8); 24. Colchester (20-8); 25. Rochdale (20-8); 26. Luton (20-8); 27. Exeter (20-8); 28. Notts County (20-8); 29. Blackpool (20-8); 30. Scunthorpe (20-8); 31. Doncaster (20-8); 32. Cardiff (20-8); 33. Colchester (20-8); 34. Rochdale (20-8); 35. Luton (20-8); 36. Exeter (20-8); 37. Notts County (20-8); 38. Blackpool (20-8); 39. Scunthorpe (20-8); 40. Doncaster (20-8); 41. Cardiff (20-8); 42. Colchester (20-8); 43. Rochdale (20-8); 44. Luton (20-8); 45. Exeter (20-8); 46. Notts County (20-8); 47. Blackpool (20-8); 48. Scunthorpe (20-8); 49. Doncaster (20-8); 50. Cardiff (20-8); 51. Colchester (20-8); 52. Rochdale (20-8); 53. Luton (20-8); 54. Exeter (20-8); 55. Notts County (20-8); 56. Blackpool (20-8); 57. Scunthorpe (20-8); 58. Doncaster (20-8); 59. Cardiff (20-8); 60. Colchester (20-8); 61. Rochdale (20-8); 62. Luton (20-8); 63. Exeter (20-8); 64. Notts County (20-8); 65. Blackpool (20-8); 66. Scunthorpe (20-8); 67. Doncaster (20-8); 68. Cardiff (20-8); 69. Colchester (20-8); 70. Rochdale (20-8); 71. Luton (20-8); 72. Exeter (20-8); 73. Notts County (20-8); 74. Blackpool (20-8); 75. Scunthorpe (20-8); 76. Doncaster (20-8); 77. Cardiff (20-8); 78. Colchester (20-8); 79. Rochdale (20-8); 80. Luton (20-8); 81. Exeter (20-8); 82. Notts County (20-8); 83. Blackpool (20-8); 84. Scunthorpe (20-8); 85. Doncaster (20-8); 86. Cardiff (20-8); 87. Colchester (20-8); 88. Rochdale (20-8); 89. Luton (20-8); 90. Exeter (20-8); 91. Notts County (20-8); 92. Blackpool (20-8); 93. Scunthorpe (20-8); 94. Doncaster (20-8); 95. Cardiff (20-8); 96. Colchester (20-8); 97. Rochdale (20-8); 98. Luton (20-8); 99. Exeter (20-8); 100. Notts County (20-8); 101. Blackpool (20-8); 102. Scunthorpe (20-8); 103. Doncaster (20-8); 104. Cardiff (20-8); 105. Colchester (20-8); 106. Rochdale (20-8); 107. Luton (20-8); 108. Exeter (20-8); 109. Notts County (20-8); 110. Blackpool (20-8); 111. Scunthorpe (20-8); 112. Doncaster (20-8); 113. Cardiff (20-8); 114. Colchester (20-8); 115. Rochdale (20-8); 116. Luton (20-8); 117. Exeter (20-8); 118. Notts County (20-8); 119. Blackpool (20-8); 120. Scunthorpe (20-8); 121. Doncaster (20-8); 122. Cardiff (20-8); 123. Colchester (20-8); 124. Rochdale (20-8); 125. Luton (20-8); 126. Exeter (20-8); 127. Notts County (20-8); 128. Blackpool (20-8); 129. Scunthorpe (20-8); 130. Doncaster (20-8); 131. Cardiff (20-8); 132. Colchester (20-8); 133. Rochdale (20-8); 134. Luton (20-8); 135. Exeter (20-8); 136. Notts County (20-8); 137. Blackpool (20-8); 138. Scunthorpe (20-8); 139. Doncaster (20-8); 140. Cardiff (20-8); 141. Colchester (20-8); 142. Rochdale (20-8); 143. Luton (20-8); 144. Exeter (20-8); 145. Notts County (20-8); 146. Blackpool (20-8); 147. Scunthorpe (20-8); 148. Doncaster (20-8); 149. Cardiff (20-8); 150. Colchester (20-8); 151. Rochdale (20-8); 152. Luton (20-8); 153. Exeter (20-8); 154. Notts County (20-8); 155. Blackpool (20-8); 156. Scunthorpe (20-8); 157. Doncaster (20-8); 158. Cardiff (20-8); 159. Colchester (20-8); 160. Rochdale (20-8); 161. Luton (20-8); 162. Exeter (20-8); 163. Notts County (20-8); 164. Blackpool (20-8); 165. Scunthorpe (20-8); 166. Doncaster (20-8); 167. Cardiff (20-8); 168. Colchester (20-8); 169. Rochdale (20-8); 170. Luton (20-8); 171. Exeter (20-8); 172. Notts County (20-8); 173. Blackpool (20-8); 174. Scunthorpe (20-8); 175. Doncaster (20-8); 176. Cardiff (20-8); 177. 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Cardiff (20-8); 222. Colchester (20-8); 223. Rochdale (20-8); 224. Luton (20-8); 225. Exeter (20-8); 226. Notts County (20-8); 227. Blackpool (20-8); 228. Scunthorpe (20-8); 229. Doncaster (20-8); 230. Cardiff (20-8); 231. Colchester (20-8); 232. Rochdale (20-8); 233. Luton (20-8); 234. Exeter (20-8); 235. Notts County (20-8); 236. Blackpool (20-8); 237. Scunthorpe (20-8); 238. Doncaster (20-8); 239. Cardiff (20-8); 240. Colchester (20-8); 241. Rochdale (20-8); 242. Luton (20-8); 243. Exeter (20-8); 244. Notts County (20-8); 245. Blackpool (20-8); 246. Scunthorpe (20-8); 247. Doncaster (20-8); 248. Cardiff (20-8); 249. Colchester (20-8); 250. Rochdale (20-8); 251. Luton (20-8); 252. Exeter (20-8); 253. Notts County (20-8); 254. Blackpool (20-8); 255. Scunthorpe (20-8); 256. Doncaster (20-8); 257. Cardiff (20-8); 258. Colchester (20-8); 259. Rochdale (20-8); 260. Luton (20-8); 261. Exeter (20-8); 262. Notts County (20-8); 263. Blackpool (20-8); 264. Scunthorpe (20-8); 265. Doncaster (20-8); 266. Cardiff (20-8); 267. Colchester (20-8); 268. Rochdale (20-8); 269. Luton (20-8); 270. Exeter (20-8); 271. Notts County (20-8); 272. Blackpool (20-8); 273. Scunthorpe (20-8);